The Outlook

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# THE STORY OF THE WAR

*As the war continues month after month its final outcome becomes more evidently a question of endurance. Interest in the military action of the nations involved tends to center in their relative ability to meet the appalling costs in men, money, and munitions. Americans are therefore giving more and more thought to the social, political, economic, and moral forces involved; for these forces at the close of actual fighting are likely to change greatly the face of Europe.*

*Mr. Arthur Bullard, who was The Outlook's war correspondent in the field during the Balkan War, and who since the outbreak of the European war has written weekly for The Outlook its story as our "war correspondent at home," will sail for Europe about the first of January to study these larger problems at close range. From time to time during 1915 he will contribute to The Outlook a series of articles on the war as it looks to the people actually concerned, giving especial attention to its sociological, economic, and political phases.*

*The detailed story of events will be continued in these pages by Mr. George Kennan and Mr. Gregory Mason, of the Outlook staff. Mr. Mason, whose articles on Mexico will be recalled with interest by our readers, visited that unhappy country last spring as The Outlook's special representative. He met and interviewed Generals Villa and Carranza, was part of the time on the firing line, and for a period of several days was so cut off from communication that there was considerable anxiety among his friends lest his life might have been lost in the conflict. His journalistic experience as well as his experience in Mexico entitle our readers to expect from his weekly report and interpretation of the progress of the military conflict in Europe a narrative which may be depended upon for its intelligence, accuracy, and sense of proportion.*

*Of Mr. Kennan's special qualifications it is hardly necessary for us to speak. Since his remarkable experience in Russia and Siberia in 1865 and 1885 he has become the foremost living American authority on Russian affairs. His two books "Tent Life in Siberia" and "Siberia and the Exile System" are permanent contributions of importance to the literature of Russian development in modern times. He speaks and reads Russian and is in constant and intimate communication with Russian scholars and patriots. The rôle of Russia in the European war grows daily of more importance, and if the Allies are ultimately victorious Russia will be an important factor, perhaps the most perplexing factor, in the settlement of terms of peace. Mr. Kennan's articles will be chiefly devoted to an interpretation of Russia's action, aims, and policy; and to comments on events that are likely to affect her power, her form of government, and her relations to other European states. Mr. Kennan was the* *special war correspondent of The Outlook in Cuba during the Spanish War and in Japan and Manchuria and on the firing line before Port Arthur during the Russo-Japanese War.*

*We do not hesitate to express satisfaction that as the war has grown in magnitude as a world problem The Outlook has been able to enlarge its scope of treatment. With Mr. Bullard in Europe and with Mr. Kennan and Mr. Mason at home, we shall be enabled during 1915 to give our readers an interpretation of the war which will be noteworthy for fullness, breadth, accuracy, and human interest. The Story of the War for this issue will be found on page 911.*

# THE WEEK

## TWO REPORTS

Within the past few days the official reports of the Secretaries of the Army and Navy have been laid before the President and the public at large.

In recording the general impression which any careful reader will receive from a perusal of these two documents it is not necessary to discuss in detail every statement they contain to appraise them at their true worth. One report presents to the reader the picture of a Secretary who understands the function of and the necessity for the Department over which he presides. The other portrays a Secretary whose attention is fixed upon the by-products rather than the main purpose of his Department, upon the justification of his own views rather than upon the co-ordination and presentation, as part of a definite National policy, of the opinions of the experts under his command. As may have already been surmised, the latter portion of this sentence does not refer to Secretary Garrison.

Aside from its fundamental defects, Secretary Daniels's report is open to criticism on still another score, for in his general introduction the Secretary presents the opinions of those opposed to his views in a form which they would not accept.

Two instances of this may be profitably cited. Secretary Daniels says: "The building programme recommended this year differs little from the recommendations in last year's annual report. It is a 'well-balanced programme.' . . . The estimates were made prior to the 15th of October, as required by law. They follow the policy recommended by the General Board, but reduce the number." In another connection Secretary Daniels says: "The opinion of the General Board . . . is entitled to great weight. The Department feels that it is upon safe ground in looking to the Board to prescribe the character of the ships to be constructed."

Now it happens that the policy laid down by the General Board is vitally dependent upon other factors than the type and character of the ships recommended for construction. In 1903, after a careful consideration of our National policies and interests, the General Board of the navy laid down a policy of construction based upon the authorization of two battle-ships a year, which in 1919 would have given us a navy of forty-eight capital ships and their necessary auxiliaries. Congress has so far neglected this recommendation that the construction programme is at present some ten battle-ships in arrears. In view of this consideration, the General Board has for the past two years recommended the construction of four capital ships, not as part of a normal building programme, but to make up the losses sustained from the action of previous Congresses. With present deficiencies in mind, the General Board recommended this year the construction of four battle-ships, sixteen torpedo-boat destroyers, three fleet submarines, sixteen coast submarines, four scout cruisers, four gunboats, two oil fuel ships, one destroyer tender, one submarine tender, one transport, one hospital ship, one supply ship, and the appropriation of five million dollars for the naval aeroplane service. Secretary Daniels, in cutting down this recommendation to a minimum of two dreadnoughts, six destroyers, eight submarines, one gunboat, and one oiler, has no justification for stating that his programme in any way "follows the recommendation of the General Board." He is in the position of a city manager who, after calling upon a commission of engineering experts to outline a proposed water system adequate for a city's needs, should issue a statement saying that the opinion of these experts "is entitled to great weight" and would in general be followed, but that he had decided to cut down the size of the proposed aqueduct one-half.

In another instance, Secretary Daniels similarly seems to misunderstand the findings of the General Board. The General Board this year recommends that an adequate personnel be provided by Congressional legislation fully to man all the effective ships in the navy. In reply to this recommendation Secretary Daniels says: "By wisely utilizing the present enlisted personnel all ships of the classes named can be maintained in full commission without addition to the present enlistment, and therefore no legislation is needed. This is clearly shown in a report by the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation."

Reference to that report, however, serves only to confirm the opinion of the General Board. While, according to the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, the enlisted personnel is adequate for the present year (and no longer), his report shows a considerable shortage in officers, which cannot be made good without following up the recommendation of the General Board. Surely Secretary Daniels must consider the officers in the navy as a somewhat vital factor in its efficiency!

## SECRETARY GARRISON ON THE ARMY

In happy contrast to the indirection of Secretary Daniels's report on the navy is the straightforwardness of the report prepared by Secretary Garrison on the army. It is a report which, both because of its specific recommendations and its presentation of general principles, tempts to lengthy quotation. Unlike the Secretary of the Navy, Secretary Garrison permits the reports of the various heads of bureaus in the War Department to speak largely for themselves without editorial interpretation. He notes, however, among other items of particular interest, that during the past year "the health of the army has been exceptionally good. The last year," he says, "has afforded the lowest recorded non-effective rate in the history of the army; a reduction of nearly twenty per cent in non-efficiency from sickness and injury has resulted. There were only four cases of typhoid fever in the army, including the Philippine Scouts. Two of these were cases of recruits of four or five days' service, respectively, who had not been immunized. Venereal diseases have decreased about twenty-five per cent. The rate for alcoholism is the lowest since 1873. The health of troops in camps over a long period of time has been extraordinarily good on account of the high efficiency of camp sanitation." He announces that "the system of disciplinary companies which has been established bids fair to be very successful;" and notes that "a large part of the army has been occupied in actual field service at Galveston, Vera Cruz, all along the Mexican border, and in Colorado and Arkansas. The fact that this duty was everywhere done in an exceptional manner and without untoward incident," notes Secretary Garrison, "is gratifying in the highest degree and deserves recognition as difficult service extremely well rendered. . . . The Student Camps were very successful and bid fair to be more so, and undoubtedly can and should be developed into a most valuable assistance."

## SECRETARY GARRISON ON AMERICAN MILITARY PROBLEMS

After a brief discussion of the engineering work under the control of his Department and of the organization of the Government of Porto Rico and the Canal Zone, the Secretary proceeds to a discussion of the problems confronting America as seen in the light of the European war. He says:

> It is, of course, not necessary to dwell on the blessings of peace and the horrors of war. . . . But peace and the other states of being just mentioned are not always or even often solely within one's control. Those who are thoughtful and have courage face the facts of life, take lessons from experience, and strive by wise conduct to attain the desirable things, and by prevision and precaution to protect and defend them when obtained. . . .
>
> In the early history of our Nation there was a natural, almost inevitable, abhorrence of military force, because it connoted military despotism. Most, if not all, of the early settlers in this country came from nations where a few powerful persons tyrannically imposed their will upon the people by means of military power. . . . Of course all this has long since passed into history. No reasonable person in this country to-day has the slightest shadow of fear of military despotism, nor of any interference whatever by military force in the conduct of civil affairs. The military and the civil are

just as completely and permanently separated in this country as the Church and the State are; the subjection of the military to the civil is settled and unchangeable. . . .

Unless this Nation has reached the conclusion that it has no need for the preparation of its military resources . . . then we must earnestly address ourselves to the question of such proper preparation. I have reached no such conclusion, and in fact am of the firm conviction that no reasonable, prudent man who faces facts could reach such a conclusion. . . .

Whatever the future may hold in the way of agreements between nations, followed by actual disarmament thereof, of international courts of arbitration, and other greatly-to-be-desired measures to lessen or prevent conflict between nation and nation, we all know that at present these conditions are not existing. We can and will eagerly adapt ourselves to each beneficent development along these lines; but to merely enfeeble ourselves in the meantime would, in my view, be unthinkable folly. By neglecting and refusing to provide ourselves with the necessary means of self-protection and self-defense we could not hasten or in any way favorably influence the ultimate results we desire in these respects.

Following the general principles enunciated in these quotations—with them The Outlook is in hearty accord—Secretary Garrison discusses at some length the fact that within the continental limits of the United States we have at present a mobile army of less than thirty thousand men, and, as The Outlook has frequently pointed out in the past, a reserve which at present has the amazing total of sixteen men!

The first step which the Secretary advocates in remedying such a condition is the immediate increase of the enlisted personnel of the army by twenty-five thousand men. This increase would bring up to full strength the existing units of the mobile army in the continental United States; would afford training for the officers in the command of such military units as they must handle in time of war; would prevent, as far as the regular army is concerned, the crowding of the ranks with raw levies in time of National crisis; and would, further, prove a wise investment from the standpoint of economy in that no material increase in overhead charges would be necessary, since the existing physical plant and the administrative organization of the army would not have to be in any way increased to take care of these twenty-five thousand additional soldiers. By means of this increase, Secretary Garrison believes that the army would be in a position to undertake the next necessary step in preparation for National defense—that is, the preparation of a reserve.

He advocates, in this connection, the policy of establishing a system of honorable discharge from the army of those soldiers who have become proficient. Secretary Garrison believes that it matters little whether a recruit enlists for a definite short period or until he has received sufficient training to understand the duties of a soldier, so long as the army is made into a soldier factory rather than a soldier storehouse. Naturally, as Secretary Garrison points out, it is but a logical step from this programme to the provision of an adequate reserve of officers and men for our organized militia and the volunteer regiments that would have to be called to the colors in time of war.

Certainly the programme laid down by Secretary Garrison is clear, definite, and statesmanlike in its presentation of the problems confronting the army. It is conservative in that it represents the very minimum of the requirements of our National defense.

## OPIUM

It is a satisfaction to report the final passage by Congress of the opium legislation outlined by Dr. Hamilton Wright, who, as delegate to the Shanghai Commission and to the later Hague conferences, has had the matter in charge for the State Department.

We began the anti-opium propaganda to help China. We did not realize that our own hands were not clean. When we did realize it, the work of passing proper legislation through Congress began.

It resulted, in the first place, in the prohibition of the import of opium except for medicinal purposes. This was followed by legislation prohibiting its manufacture and export. Final legislation limits its inter-State transportation.

The bill in question passed the Senate in the last days of the late session, and has just passed the House. The passage was due largely to the unpartisan effort of men like Messrs. Burton, Lodge, and Thomas in the Senate, and Mann, Underwood, Kitchen, and Moore in the House. The measure provides for the registration of opium or coca leaves, their salts, derivatives, or preparations, with internal revenue collectors, and for the imposition of a tax upon all persons who distribute them. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue is to prepare special forms which shall be sold to those persons who shall have registered and paid the special tax. It shall be unlawful for any person who has not registered and paid the tax to deliver any of the aforesaid drugs from any State or Territory to any person in any other State or Territory. Any person who violates the requirements of the Act may be fined not more than two thousand dollars, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both. A striking feature of the Act is that any one who has not registered, and who is found with any of the aforesaid drugs in his possession, shall be deemed presumptively guilty of a violation of the Act.

With the passage of this Act ends the great humanitarian and economic reform begun six years ago. Many deemed the plan then laid down too far-reaching and impossible of accomplishment. Its proper administration is now all that is needed!

While Congress has acted with exasperating slowness in the matter, its action has been gratifyingly non-partisan, save in the case of the Democratic Appropriations Committee of the House, which since 1910 has steadily refused to make the necessary provision to pay the expenses of the work.

### THE FRENCH YELLOW PAPER

Last of the Great Powers involved in the European war, except Austria, France has now placed her case before the court of humanity in official form. The French Yellow Paper, republished in full by the New York "Times," is interesting for what it confirms rather than for the new evidence introduced.

Briefly, her case against Germany rests on the assertion, backed by weighty evidence in the form of the official communications of the French Prime Minister and the Ambassadors of the Republic in the various capitals, that Germany at no time was ready to treat the Austro-Servian question as of international concern, but that she devoted her whole efforts at preserving the peace to an attempt to prevent the other Great Powers from interfering with Austria's attack upon the Kingdom across the Danube. While Russia, France, England, and Italy stood prepared, up to the last moment of Germany's attack, to settle the points of dispute at an international conference, Germany was never ready to accept any modification or control of Austria's intent. Further than this, the French Yellow Paper gives added testimony to support the general belief that England was the last of the Powers to give up hope of finding means to avoid the European cataclysm. Certainly, in so far as the official documents which have been made public show, she took every step possible to bring the Austro-Servian question to a public settlement, and to assure her citizens that her actions were based, not upon any secret promise of France (although there must have been an understanding as to how the two Powers should co-operate if occasion demanded), but upon the development of the situation as it confronted her statesmen day by day.

The introductory documents published in the French Yellow Paper (which deal not directly with the Austro-Servian crisis, but with the recent diplomatic and political history of Europe) furnish striking evidence to the keenness of intelligence with which French diplomats followed the political movements and the popular sentiments of the countries to which they were accredited. By contrast, if not by direct inference, the French Yellow Paper is a severe indictment of the German diplomacy and the German statesmanship which involved the German nation and its ally in a war with all Europe, and at the same time isolated the two empires from the sympathy of the world at large.

### THE RED CROSS ANNUAL MEETING

"The Red Cross is just now charged with a peculiarly responsible duty," said President Wilson, who was the presiding officer at the tenth annual meeting the other day in Washington. "It is the medium of the whole world . . . in ministering to those who need its aid under these distressing circumstances." For this reason the Red Cross meeting was unusually important and interesting.

Mr. Robert W. de Forest, the Vice-President, who is also Chairman of the Belgian Relief Committee, explained that, according to its charter, the Red Cross cannot in time of war solicit relief for non-combatants in the belligerent countries, nor can the Red Cross undertake the distribution of such relief. It is thus estopped, for instance, from undertaking to administer relief to Belgian non-combatants, although it can help the Belgian army, just as it helps the French or German army, by nursing the sick and wounded. The Belgian War Relief Committee, however, is officered in many cases by Red Cross workers. The Red Cross will also act as intermediary by transmitting to the organizations best fitted to administer non-combatant relief any funds, provided the givers designate the particular country for which this relief is intended. Thus the Red Cross, while not able to do work for non-combatants, is still aiding by every means in its power the organizations for such relief.

A particular form of endeavor which it has furthered is the forwarding of thousands of letters from prisoners of war in all the warring nations to their families, thus relieving the anxiety of their relatives and friends.

Outside of the war work, the Red Cross Commission for flood relief in China reported that its engineers had submitted plans to the Chinese Government which should entirely prevent future floods and the terrible famines resulting therefrom, and that the actual work to accomplish this would shortly be begun.

The Christmas Seal of the Red Cross has netted receipts for nearly two millions of dollars for tuberculosis work. An increased sale is predicted this year, notwithstanding the drain caused by war relief.

### FRIENDS IN NEED

Men whose religious convictions forbid them to take up arms are on the firing line in Belgium. They are members of the religious Society of Friends—popularly called Quakers.

When the war broke out, English Friends were much disturbed and somewhat divided. Loyalty to their country at such a time as this seemed to run athwart their religious beliefs. Late in August Philip J. Baker, a young Friend, wrote a letter to the official organ of the Society, asking all Friends interested in relief work on behalf of the soldiers to write to him. Many readers of The Outlook will remember Mr. Baker as the author of an article which appeared in The Outlook in October, 1912, about English and American athletics. He gained reputation at Cambridge as a runner, and was the only Cambridge undergraduate at that time who had ever been elected President of both the Cambridge University Athletic Club and the Cambridge Union. He had been also a student at Haverford College, in Pennsylvania. His father, a Canadian, is a member of the English Parliament, and he himself has gained distinction as a student of international law. His letter aroused a good deal of discussion, some holding that Quakers had no business to aid soldiers, even by caring for the wounded; but Mr. Baker's arguments prevailed.

A training camp was established at Jordan's, where the famous old Friends' meeting-house stands in which William Penn worshiped and where he is buried. A company of young Friends went into camp there just as the men who were enlisting for fighting were going into camp; and there they took their training. Then an ambulance unit started for the front. This was on October 31. Before they had crossed the Channel they found themselves engaged in relief work of the most strenuous kind, for they encountered the British cruiser Hermes sinking after a German torpedo attack. They rescued and cared for many of the sailors. Then they reached France and plunged into the work of relieving the wounded. For thirty-six hours these men worked without rest.

Within two weeks a third party had left for the front, bringing the total number of the unit up to sixty-five. In a little more than a week after landing at Dunkirk a party of nine left to establish a collecting and dressing station at Ypres; but the town was deserted and partly destroyed, so the station was established at Woesten, a village about five miles away.

The British require the men engaged in Red Cross work to enlist and to carry side arms. These Friends could not conscientiously do this; so they applied to the French Government, and were accepted. These men are under fire, but have no means even of defending themselves. Of course the work that they do is for the benefit of the wounded of all nationalities. Contributions for the aid of this good work are received and forwarded by L. Hollingsworth Wood, 43 Cedar Street, New York. All the money that is contributed is used solely for purpose of relief.

A complete equipment and hospital outfit was presented to the unit by an American woman, the Hon. Mrs. Frederick Guest, wife of a member of Parliament, and daughter of Henry Phipps, of New York. This mobile hospital left London on November 23. It will form a hospital center to which to bring sick and wounded soldiers.

The brave and efficient work that these young men are doing so impressed an army colonel that after coming home he called for more men of the sort; for he said he had never seen young men "buckle to" as they did. He said that they would like to have "half a dozen corps at once."

These are not Friends merely in word; but also friends in deed.

### STILL ALIVE

Colonel Roosevelt is reported by the daily press to have recently written to Dr. H. W. Coe, a National committeeman in Oregon of the Progressive party, as follows:

> The public is tired of hearing of reforms, of hearing from reformers, and especially from me.

We agree with Mr. Roosevelt that the American people prefer to take their reforms in small, consecutive—perhaps even homeopathic—doses rather than in huge, purging draughts. He is mistaken, however, if he thinks that the American people are tired of him personally. His personality is as varied, surprising, eclectic, and engaging as ever. Some of the daily newspapers of New York have pronounced him dead and even buried half a dozen times since he returned from Africa in 1910. He has had more political obituaries printed about him than any other living man.

These observations are prompted by the fact that Mr. Roosevelt gave, week before last, at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, a lecture regarding his adventures and scientific investigations during his trip down the "Unknown River" in South America. Two or three thousand people were turned away from the doors of the Museum because the auditorium was filled to overflowing with those who wanted to hear him speak. He was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm and listened to for more than an hour with the closest attention. His lecture depended for its attractiveness almost entirely upon his personality and his simple but unusual narrative. There were no lantern slides to appeal to the popular taste. The President of the Museum, Mr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, introduced him not as an ex-President or a statesman, but as a distinguished American naturalist. Mr. Roosevelt's intimate friends have long known that he finds a greater respite from the cares of active life in the study of the fauna and flora of the whole world, Arctic or tropical, than from any other form of recreation. He received when a boy his first impulse towards the study of natural history in the American Museum, and Mr. Osborn, its President, rightly called the attention of the audience to the fact that Mr. Roosevelt was the first President of the United States who had taken any active and effective interest in natural history as a scientific pursuit. Certainly few, if any, public men in our time have touched life so intimately on so many of its facets as Mr. Roosevelt. He has been, and he is still, we are happy to say, a man very much alive.

### RECKLESS RAILROADING

What may happen to a wooden rear car when hit in a rear-end collision is shown by a photograph in our news-picture section this week. Railway men have often said that under modern railway methods the one thing that ought to be impossible is a rear-end collision. Yet in New York City last week two rear-end collisions on the elevated road took place within three days, with two resulting deaths and injury to two or three score persons.

The first of these two collisions was caused by almost incredibly wrong conduct, made possible apparently by astonishingly lax rules. The motor apparatus in the first or head car of a train having gone wrong, the motorman ran the train from the *fourth* car. Needless to add, he could not see ahead, so he depended on signals given by a brakeman standing on the *rear* platform of the first car, by means of a handkerchief, at five o'clock at night! No wonder this local train ran into the rear car of an express which was "stalled" on the track ahead!

If this represents the rules and methods of the elevated railways, something more is needed to save life than the proposed substitution of steel for wooden cars. Has not the Public Service Commission something to say or do in the matter?

### CIVIC EFFORT FOR BEAUTY AND IMPROVEMENT

The American Civic Association, which has led in the fight for the preservation of the scenic integrity of the falls of Niagara, celebrated the beginning of a second decade of its existence at its meeting in Washington early this month. The same spirit of aggressive investigation in respect to Niagara was evidenced in President McFarland's statement that the present power development from the water of Niagara is estimated to be at least twenty-five per cent of the total amount of use possible without involving the entire destruction of the scenic value of the falls, and more than fifty per cent of the development which has been claimed to be the possible maximum by Mr. R. P. Bolton, a New York hydraulic engineer of reputation.

At this Washington meeting emphasis was also laid on the vital importance of fostering the proper control and development of our National parks. The Dominion of Canada sent its Commissioner of Parks to show what Canada has already done for its National parks. Commissioner Harkin gave credit to the American Civic Association for furnishing the inspiration and the data through which he had been able to formulate and put in practice the orderly plan for developing to the greatest advantage Canada's immense area of National parks; yet nothing of the kind has been accomplished in the United States save the appointment of a superintendent. It is time for the American people to make known a desire to have the National parks at least as well administered, controlled, and guided as are the parks of most of our larger cities.

American cities have generally (the most prominent exception is Washington) grown without adequate planning. A session of the Civic Association's meeting was devoted to setting forth practicable methods of promoting city planning, at which Mr. Thomas Adams, a noted English town planner, who is now Civic Adviser to the Conservation Commission of Canada, gave an interesting address. In this and a later illustrated address before the joint meeting of the Association with the American Institute of Architects, Mr. Adams explained the progress in England in consequence of the governmental action which permits towns to plan, restrict, and advance in true economy and with regard to the efficiency, health, and happiness of the population.

President McFarland's address on "Wanted—American City Planning for American Cities" developed need for more extended consideration of the smaller communities and proposed a Federal Department of Cities analogous to the Department of Agriculture.

An amusing as well as an interesting session of the Civic Association was that devoted to public nuisances, including the billboard. Mr. Jesse Lee Bennett presented a careful study of the legal phase of this question, showing how strongly resentment was being manifested all over the country at signboard intrusions. Two representatives were present from the Billposters' Association of America, both of whom talked and answered questions on "The Billboard from Its Own Angle," without in any way satisfying the audience that the present promiscuous and outrageous sign-posting methods of the country were justifiable. It was the idea of these speakers that when billboards were made on steel frames and surrounded with ornamental borders, with a foot or more of white space between the border and the beer sign, all objection would be removed to the placing of these signs so as to obscure beautiful scenery, great buildings, and fine vistas!

## THE DREAMS OF CHRISTMAS-TIDE

If the men and women who are tempted to think that the Christmas story is only a beautiful legend could see the world as it was on the night when the Christ was born, they would thank God that the race has traveled so far towards the dawn. It is one of the illusions which show us what children we still are that present conditions seem to us to have existed from time immemorial; we look forward so eagerly to the golden age that we forget the iron age behind us. The wide-spread misery, the hardness of heart, the lack of humanity, the unspeakable immoralities, the barbarous cruelty, the hatred between races, which prevailed throughout the world when the Christmas anthem was sung for the first time would have made that beautiful song, to one who knew the pagan world, seem like a piece of bitter irony. Measuring the standards of living, feeling, and acting to-day by the standards of the first century, the advance out of animalism and barbarism has been immense. The moment we pass behind the light of the intelligence and ideals of the few in the classical age whose art and literature survive to give us joy, we are in a world of misery; and when we look the conditions under which men lived in the still remoter past in the face, the wonder is, not that we have gone so short a way on the path to virtue and brotherliness, but that we have gone so far.

Life is an education, and the processes of education are severe and protracted in the exact degree in which the work for which they prepare us has spiritual dignity and intellectual importance. There are simple manual tasks which a man may learn in a day or a week; and there are arts and tasks for which ten years are too short a novitiate. The education of the human race is a matter of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of centuries; and that education must embrace all races before the world can hope for a civilization from which jealousy, greed, and hatred shall be driven out as the money-changers were driven out of the Temple. That education discloses its progress in changing institutions and conditions; but institutions and conditions are valuable only as they express or help in the development of character. Society will be redeemed, not by institutions, but by men; the world will be saved, not by political devices, but by character.

It is idle to say that civilization is defeated and barbarism has returned because war is devastating half the world. Deplorable as that war is, it is comprehensible, and it has revealed magnificent human qualities in every nation: noble forgetfulness of self, indifference to danger and hardship, loyalty to ideals both national and personal. Through the darkness a myriad torches are flashing. It is not a time to despair of human nature; but rather to rejoice that it redeems ignorance with such sublime courage and faith in God and country. Those whose faith falters in the presence of this tragedy have not understood the complexity and greatness of the educational progress which is slowly lifting the world toward the ideals of the Christ. Out of this terrible purging there will come a new and passionate demand for that justice between nations which alone can lay the foundation of permanent peace. Through this terrible trial there will come a better world. The signs of a new birth of righteousness are visible; a nobler civilization is being born in the anguish of the birth-pangs of half the world.

The birth of the Christ was a beginning, not an ending. It was the beginning of many sorrows and much burden-bearing, because it was the promise of those spiritual and imperishable joys into which men enter only through the gate of suffering. The great gifts cannot be received until the spirit is prepared to receive them. Heaven would be hell to the corrupt nature; the very bliss of it would sting and torture.

Peace on earth was offered nineteen hundred years ago, but God cannot force it upon us until we are ready to receive it; and it will be ours the very hour in which we establish justice and good will among men. The vision of heaven which the shepherds saw was not an idle dream; it was prophetic of realities that are coming; it was one of those dreams which invite noble effort and are changed by noble effort into the sublime realities on which eternal life securely rests.

These lines by Miss Susie M. Best, in which the dream of Christmastide is described with moving tenderness and insight, will perhaps be new to some readers; they have a Christmas message for every reader:

"That night when in the Egyptian skies
The Mystic Star dispensed its light,
A blind man turned him in his sleep
And dreamed that he had sight.

That night when shepherds heard the song
Of hosts angelic choiring near,
A deaf man lay in slumber's spell
And dreamed that he could hear.

That night when in the cattle's stall
Slept Child and mother in humble fold,
A cripple turned his twisted limbs
And dreamed that he was whole.

That night when o'er the new-born Babe
A tender mother rose to lean,
A loathsome leper smiled in sleep
And dreamed that he was clean.

That night when to the mother's breast
The little King was held secure,
A harlot slept a happy sleep
And dreamed that she was pure.

That night when in the manger lay
The Holy One who came to save,
A man turned in the sleep of death
And dreamed there was no grave."

## THE GLORY OF WAR[1]

There are bull-fights and bull-fights. In the Spanish bull-fight a maddened bull and a skilled toreador struggle for existence to give pleasure to a crowd of spectators. The immediate object is to prove that the toreador is the fitter of the two to survive. If it is the bull which survives, the pleasure is modified—in some of the spectators enhanced—by an agreeable thrill of horror. Americans rightly look upon this as a barbaric sport.

But if a mad bull gets into a school-yard and rushes at the terrified children, and one boy, brave and better fitted than the rest, shows fight and saves the children at the hazard and perhaps at the loss of his own life, we honor the American toreador. For his struggle has not been for himself, but for others; not to show his power, but, by his power, to render service to those in need.

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[1] See last week's editorial on "The Barbarism of War."

When a nation, impelled by the *delirium tremens* of militarism, attempts to exhibit and establish its power by bringing its neighbors into subjection, none of the customary measures depended on for the maintenance of peace is of the slightest use. Scientific development? It only makes Krupp guns able to batter down the strongest fortifications, aeroplanes and dirigibles able to drop bombs on unfortified cities, and mines and submarines to add a new terror both to warfare and to commerce on the sea. Philosophical culture? The philosophers, infected with the national delirium, teach the doctrine that life is nothing but a struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, and employ their learning and their world-wide reputations in making respectable the barbarism of war. Humanity? The war leaders declare that humanity has no place in war; that its object is to terrify combatant and non-combatant alike, and the more terrifying it can be made the more effective it is. Treaties of peace? Treaties are only scraps of paper to be thrown aside whenever they interfere with the plans which have been made for conquest. Arbitration? Arbitration is condemned on the express ground that it recognizes the right of the weak nation to exist. And when a weak nation is threatened by its powerful neighbor with a punitive expedition for a crime of which it declares itself innocent, and offers to leave the oppressor to choose the tribunal to which the question of its guilt shall be submitted, the suggestion is carelessly brushed aside as unworthy of consideration. Nor is greater consideration given to arbitration when it is reproposed by nations having no concern with the dispute, no interest in the charge. That one of its own allies joins in this proposal lends to it no weight with the nation determined upon war.

There remains the "irresistible might of meekness." That is a beautiful phrase and it expresses a beautiful truth. But history abundantly demonstrates that meekness is not always an irresistible might. The Jews in Russia were disarmed and submitted meekly to their persecutors, and they were massacred by the hundreds. The Armenians in Turkey were disarmed and submitted meekly to their persecutors, and they were massacred by the thousands. Who will say that unresisted murder is better for either the murderer or the murdered than attempted murder resisted by all the power with which the innocent victim can equip himself?

The history of our own century illustrates dramatically the truth that the irresistible might of meekness is no protection against wrong-doing. Three million slaves in our own country were compelled to work without wages for more than a century. They had no recognized rights of property or of person. They had no recognized legal right to husband, wife, or child, none to education, none even to the inspiration and consolation of religion, though these they were permitted to enjoy by masters who were infinitely better than the system under which both master and slave were living. Their weakness did nothing for their succor. War emancipated master and slave alike, and nothing but war could have emancipated them. Disarmament could not—the slaves were disarmed. The irresistible might of meekness could not—the slaves were meek. Arbitration could not—there was a Supreme Court which had authority to decide whether a State had a right to secede, and whether a Nation had a right to coerce a State; but if the question had been submitted to the Supreme Court, if it had decided that a State had no right to secede, the South would not have submitted; if it had decided that the Nation had no right to prevent secession, the North would not have submitted. A treaty could not do it—a treaty was made fixing a line beyond which slavery was never to go, and when that line in the Southern development was reached the treaty was cast aside.

Whenever an individual professes to believe that struggle for existence and survival of the fittest is the only law of life, and arms himself to take the property of his unarmed neighbor, we call him a criminal and use whatever police force is necessary to protect society from his violence. Whenever a body of men is possessed of this faith, and seeks to deny to peaceful citizens the right to life and liberty, we call it a mob and use whatever military force is necessary to protect society from the mob's violence. When a nation, perverted from its nobler industrial ideals by half a century of pagan philosophy inculcated in schools and universities controlled by its war party, devotes its extraordinary equipment to a practical demonstration of the doctrine that might makes right, there remains no alternative for those who believe that right makes might but to defend by force of arms civilization from the assaults of barbarism, defend the faith that the law of life is a struggle for others and a struggle for the salvation of the unfit from an armed troop endeavoring to enforce upon the world the law of the jungle—that is, the struggle for existence, for survival of the fittest.

The Outlook wonders at the question, Has Christianity failed? We do not recall in the world's history a more splendid illustration of a national exhibition of a Christian spirit than that manifested by heroic little Belgium. She had pledged to Europe her neutrality. That pledge was the protection of Germany from invasion by France, and the protection of France from invasion by Germany. The proffered bribe to disregard her pledge she rejected with undisguised scorn. She had nothing to gain and everything to lose by resistance. And she heroically laid down her life rather than sacrifice her word. If she should never recover from the wounds inflicted upon her, history should reverently inscribe upon her tomb the apothegm, "She laid down her life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." If, impoverished, scarred, and wounded, she rises from the battlefield, Christendom should place upon her brow the crown of self-sacrifice with that apothegm engraved upon it.

## NEUTRALITY AND EXPORTS

Some American merchants have been engaged in supplying the belligerent nations in Europe with munitions of war. Is it right for them to do so? A good many Americans believe that it is not. Measures have been introduced into Congress which, if enacted, would forbid the exportation of such commodities. Thus Representative Bartholdt declares that "if supplies should be cut off from this country, hostilities would cease," that by allowing the exportation of supplies for the armies the United States is "not at present maintaining a position of neutrality as outlined in President Wilson's proclamation," and that we cannot maintain neutrality "so long as one side gets supplies that for various reasons cannot be obtained by the other side." Senator Hitchcock says, "How inconsistent it seems, then, for our people to be selling arms and munitions of war abroad to be used to kill and maim!" Senator Works would starve the belligerents into making peace, and would hold up not only arms and ammunition, but shoes, blankets, foodstuffs—everything that would help sustain an army.

There are three questions involved in these proposals.

The first is a question of ethics: Is it right for any one to supply an army with anything that will help it in the work of maiming and killing? No, answer those who believe that all war is essentially wicked. War is hell, they argue, and as the soldier's business is but legalized murder, those who supply the soldier with food, clothing, or shelter, or with arms or horses or machinery, are accomplices in crime. But is war always wicked? Is every soldier a murderer? We do not think so. We do not count as murderers the fast-disappearing veterans of the Civil War. Rather, we honor them, because they were sacrificing themselves for others. But they could not have done their duty without shoes and blankets and tents and horses and guns and ammunition. So the men who supplied them were to be honored if they supplied good shoes and good blankets and good guns and ammunition. Only those who are willing to say that the veteran of the Grand Army of the Republic is a legalized murderer can consistently hold that it is always wrong to supply to the fighting forces of a nation their needed munitions of war. We do not believe the American people will take this view. If the exportation of arms and army supplies is to be prohibited, it must be on other than purely ethical grounds.

But may not the prohibition of the export of munitions of war be justified on the ground that this country is a neutral nation? This raises the second question, a question of neutrality: Is it consistent with the neutrality of the United States that an American should sell munitions of war to a foreign belligerent? In time of peace the right of the citizens of one country to sell munitions of war to another country is unquestioned. In time of war this right continues, though such supplies are subject to seizure. The law of contraband should not be confused with the law of neutrality. A neutral nation observes neutrality only as its government treats all belligerents alike. It does not maintain a neutral attitude if it declares by its acts that it intends to starve a belligerent with which it is at peace. But it is stated that, as Germany is excluded from the sea in this war, it has not the same chance at buying such supplies as its enemies have, and that therefore the United

States in fairness should refuse to sell to those enemies of Germany. This means that the United States should take part in the conflict by doing, as far as it can, to the injury of England and France by a commercial operation what England has done by naval operations to the injury of Germany. This is urging, not that the United States be neutral, but that it be unneutral. It is asking the United States to take part in the war on one side without avowing itself as a belligerent. It may be that the rules of that grim game called war are not as good rules as they might be; but it is not neutrality for an avowedly neutral nation to undertake to change those rules while that game is in progress in order to even the odds in favor of one side and against the other. On the ground, therefore, of neutrality, the prohibition of exports cannot be justified.

There remains, therefore, the third question, a question of permanent policy: Is the prohibition of exporting such supplies an act that we should regard as friendly and neutral if, the case being reversed, we were at war and wished to purchase supplies from a neutral power? At such a time as this the United States must make its decision, guided not by present sentiment and feeling alone, but by its convictions as to what it regards as the policy of permanent validity under all circumstances. Suppose the United States were at war with Great Britain and had swept the British navy from the seas (a supposition plainly contrary to any conceivable fact), and we were confining our operations to defense along the Canadian border; should we regard it as a friendly and neutral act on the part of Germany and France and Russia and the other European Powers if they jointly and severally refused to sell us clothing for our soldiers on the ground that they wished to be entirely neutral and to even matters up because England had lost her fleet? We do not think that Americans would consider that as a sign of neutrality and friendliness. If it would not be a sign of neutrality and friendliness on the part of Russia and France and Germany under those conditions, it would certainly not be a sign of neutrality on our part to do likewise under present conditions.

We do not think, therefore, that the prohibition of the export of munitions of war can be justified on the ground of ethics, on the ground of neutrality, or on the ground of a consistent permanent policy.

## JAPAN AND THE WAR

There have been many statements from German, Russian, Belgian, and English sources explanatory of the position and purposes of those countries in the calamitous war now raging in Europe; but two countries have been conspicuous for their silence —Japan and France. Miss Scidmore's article on " Japan's Platonic War with Germany," which appears on another page, is not a statement of the causes which led Japan to enter the arena of conflict, but a description of the manner in which the Japanese have conducted the war and in which they have treated their German prisoners. On this subject no foreigner is more competent to speak than Miss Scidmore, whose dramatic account of the treatment of the Russians in Japan during the war with that country, in " As The Hague Ordains," has been read by many thousand Americans. When the Russian prisoners were sent to Japan from Manchuria, they carried with them almost as many misconceptions as have taken possession of the minds of some Americans. They supposed they were going to be brutally treated. On the contrary, they were treated not only with extreme consideration, but with great courtesy. Many of them lived under the pleasantest conditions they had ever known; and they went back to Russia carrying a knowledge of Japan which has been of immense service in changing the relations between the two countries.

Miss Scidmore's story of the Japanese attack on Tsingtau is graphic and quite in keeping with Japanese traditions and spirit, and in striking contrast with the attitude of too many Occidentals towards Japan's participation in the struggle. Her German foes have treated Japan's appearance as a piece of Asiatic impertinence; and many American newspapers, and some American public men, have apparently taken the attitude that Japan has no rights in the Far East, and that any Japanese activity beyond the boundaries of the islands is an insolent interference with Occidental interests. At the bottom of this spirit lies the deep-rooted feeling among many Western people of the inherent superiority of the Western races over the Eastern. The West has so long regarded the East as ground for exploitation, and has so long settled its affairs in council without as much as saying to India, Persia, or Japan, " By your leave," that it has come to regard itself as possessing the right to manage Eastern affairs according to its own judgment. Of course this has not been the attitude of large-minded people who know the Orient. It was not the view expressed by Admiral Mahan last June. "Personally," he said, "I entirely reject any assumption or belief that my race is superior to the Chinese or the Japanese." Until that assumption is abandoned by the leaders of the Western races the West will never understand the East and will never do it justice; and the peace of the world will never be secured.

For several years past there has been a deliberate, well-planned, and sinister propaganda to misrepresent Japan in this country and to alarm and inflame American feeling. A large number of American newspapers have fallen into the habit of automatically interpreting every movement on the part of the Japanese Government as inimical to this country. Again and again the most elaborate misstatements of facts have been cabled from Washington to Tokyo; and in that country there are many evidences of a studied attempt to irritate Japanese feeling and misrepresent American aims and purposes. Dr. Gulick has called attention to some recent evidences of this malign endeavor to embroil the two countries. A bogus telegram was published in Tokyo, in August, announcing the decision of the United States Government to send the entire battle fleet to the Orient; and this was taken as evidence that the United States intended to strike Japan while Great Britain was involved elsewhere. This was speedily followed by a detailed report of an alleged speech made by Admiral Cowles in Peking, warning the Chinese against the sinister designs of the Japanese. Of course the American Admiral had made no such speech; but the denial did not reach Japan until the mischief had been done.

When Representative Mann, in his speech on the Philippine situation, spoke in a general way of the possibilities of future misunderstanding between the East and the West, many American papers grossly misrepresented the speech in such headlines as: "War with Japan Certain!" These headlines were imdiately cabled to Japan, and Dr. Gulick reports that a friend of his in Japan had said that a few more militaristic speeches like Mr. Mann's might produce a very dangerous condition of feeling in that country. As a matter of fact, Mr. Mann's speech was not militaristic, and it was grossly misreported in headlines. Dr. Gulick himself has been the victim of this irresponsible reporting. Not long ago in New York he spoke of the danger of the "yellow journal" attitude towards Japan, and sounded a warning against its possible consequence. The next day a responsible New York paper reported him as saying that war with Japan was inevitable within thirty years; the headline read: "United States-Japanese War Sure! says Dr. Gulick."

The country does not yet understand that it is in danger of too readily accepting as truth propaganda in the interest of Germany and inimical to Japan; that its ignorance of Japanese sentiment and opinion is being used by rumor-mongers unfriendly to both Japan and America. Since Japan's participation in the war Americans have been warned many times from German sources to beware of Japan. Recently, indeed, a writer defending the Austro-German cause in the pages of The Outlook went so far as to point out the peril to which this country was exposed from an invasion from Canada led by Great Britain and supported by Japanese and Indian troops! This is an instance of the extent to which the Teutonic hostility to Japan may be carried. Many similar tales are being told in this country.

We are glad, however, to note some evidence of a growing restraint and a keener sense of responsibility among American newspapers in dealing with the Japanese situation.

## TWO AUSTRIAN MUSICIANS

If it is a place "in the sun" that Austria is seeking by force of arms, she is wasting her men and her treasures; for she has it already. Fritz Kreisler is an Austrian. He is an officer in the Austrian army, and has been in the trenches. But it is not on the field of battle that he has helped to win for his country that place in the sun, but on the concert platform. He is undoubtedly one of the greatest violinists of all time. Not all violinists are artists, but Kreisler is a great artist. There are few men who win for themselves such a host of unknown friends as he has won by his playing. And the reason is close at hand. His great skill he never uses for its own display, but solely to give fuller freedom to the soul that he finds on the printed page of the music. When the composer has finished writing what he has had to say, the work that he has created is still incomplete. It needs the interpreter. And if that work is to be really completed, the interpreter, too, must be an artist. With each performance he, as it were, creates anew the composer's work of art. It is because Kreisler never forgets this and devotes his skill and his knowledge and his understanding to this art of newly creating what he plays that people crowd to listen to him with little regard to what is on his programme.

It is interesting to hear that Kreisler proved a good comrade with his men and was popular with them; it is interesting to hear that he has undertaken to support some forty children whose fathers were his comrades at arms; it is satisfactory to know that the wound which he received has not impaired his musical powers; but it is exasperating to find that, for the sake of having one more officer at the front, Austria was willing to throw away, if need be, the life of a man who had already won for her more than she could gain by any feats at arms.

Fritz Kreisler appeared before an American audience again on December 12. Every one in that audience, it is fair to say, was a partisan of Austria—musically. The warmth of the welcome Kreisler received was due partly to rejoicing that so great a musician had escaped the perils of war, but mainly to admiration of the musician and of the art of which he is a consummate master. It seems as if Austria could make better use of such a man than in sending him to the trenches to be trampled upon by the horsemen of the enemy. What would it profit that country to gain new territory if it lost in the process such a soul?

Another son of Austria who has helped to win for her her place in the sun is Erich Wolfgang Korngold. His "Sinfonietta" was played on Thursday, December 10, and Friday, December 11, by the orchestra of the Philharmonic Society in New York. This composition is, in fact, a symphony. The diminutive form which the composer has given to its title is not indicative of diminutive size or proportion. It is perhaps simply a means of informing the audience that there is nothing heroic or grandiloquent about it. It has the joyousneess and exuberance of youth in it. Once upon a time Brahms wrote to a friend about his forthcoming "Second Symphony," saying that its tragic character would impel the players in the orchestra during its performance to wear crape on their arms. When the symphony was produced, it turned out to be the beautiful idyllic "Symphony in D Major," which has entranced even those who nurse their prejudices against Brahms. Perhaps it is somewhat in this same spirit of depreciation that Korngold has given to his Opus 5 the title "Sinfonietta."

There have come out of the Teuton peoples in recent years few works of such significance as this symphony of Korngold's. Indeed, it would be hard to mention a single one that occupies just the place that this does. For years Teutonic composers have been experimenting. They have been following in the direction pointed out to them by Wagner. They have left the road that had been traveled by the symphonists—Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms. Instead, they have been trying out new paths, impelled to their experiments by Liszt and Wagner. They have enlarged the orchestra, Richard Strauss even introducing a wind machine and other devices. They have been experimenting, too, with harmonies, and all sorts of changes in key, and even with total disregard of key. This has not been confined by any means to Germany; French composers have been experimenting, too; but the Germans have been freer in their use of dangerous explosives, so to speak, than the French—more interested in dissonance for its own sake, or at least for the sake of escaping the effects of harmony. The Germans, moreover, have been impatient of old structural forms, and have allowed their impatience to extend to a dislike of structure itself. They have been seeking bigness and noise in the hope of finding thereby greatness. These German experimenters have dominated the realm of music to a very large degree. There have been some unpleasant aspects of this period in music. It has been accompanied by a morbid interest in the ugly and the decadent. It has been characterized by the desire to get music to do rather imperfectly what it is not fitted to do at all, and by the desire of composers to get literature or some other art to supply the deficiencies of their own inspiration and intelligence. Yet all this experimentation has been good, although its products will not contribute to the permanent literature of music to any great extent. Naturally, the forceful and dominating temperaments, such as Strauss and Mahler and Schoenberg, have impelled other composers to imitate them. And those composers who have tried to follow these experimenters have not succeeded very well because they have neither been experimenters themselves nor sufficiently original creators to take the results of the experiments and form them into original works of art. It was perhaps inevitable that the effect on art of this experimentation could not be known until a composer should arise who had not only creative genius himself, but who would come upon these experiments not as something new and strange, but as something familiar. Apparently this has now occurred. Korngold was born into the world of Strauss and Mahler. What strikes the ear of an older person as strange and unusual is to him a matter of fact. And so he finds these products of experiment on the same level with Bach and Beethoven. What is the result? The dissonances that have seemed so blatant and self-assertive fall into their own place. The freedom from tonality that has seemed so often like the freedom of a bad boy consciously engaged in an escapade has become natural. Korngold is no more self-conscious in using a new harmonic progression or a new instrument in the orchestra than he is in profiting by the example of old Father Bach. He is not writing to show off his boldness of initiative. He is writing because he has something to say, and he takes means of saying it from Mahler as easily as from Mozart, and from Strauss as easily as from Schubert.

The first movement of this symphony begins with a buoyant melody in the strings. There is something elusive about this melody. The listener cannot carry it away with him; but when it reappears he recognizes it. So it is with all Korngold themes, with one or two exceptions. Here is somebody that has the gift of melody who exercises it naturally and spontaneously in ways undreamed of a half-century ago.

One is tempted to write at length about such work as this; but there are three things that stand out and deserve mention. One is the fact that Korngold's sense of structure is sound. He has built up his work with regard to architectural values. This symphony is as definite, well built, and coherent as a symphony by Brahms. The second is the fact that Korngold's sense of rhythm is as great as his sense of structure. There is something almost American about his love of syncopation and of rhythmic beauty. In the third place, with all his freedom in the use of the orchestra, Korngold has shown his sanity by building all his instrumentation on the foundation of the string band. He has not only used the enlarged orchestra but he has justified it. Korngold is as different from Brahms as Brahms is from Beethoven or Mozart; but he has come back to the road that the great symphonists have traveled, bringing with him wealth that others have mined. In this symphony his temperament seems Mendelssohnian; but there is something in his work that is more virile than Mendelssohn's. It is risky business to predict what is likely to happen to such work as this; but it is a great temptation to say that this symphony is going to have a permanent place in the symphonic literature of the world.

Some of the characteristics of this symphony may be explained by the fact that Korngold is now in his eighteenth year. He could scarcely have been much more than sixteen years old when he wrote this. His portrait appears in this issue. He is a native of Brunn, Austria, but now lives in Vienna, where his father is well known as a musical critic. We are told that at five years of age Erich Korngold could take part in four-hand performances at the pianoforte, and that he composed a cantata at nine. When he was barely more than thirteen years of age, a musical pantomime of his was produced at the Vienna Court Opera House. Those who are looking for the renaissance of music may well pray that this young fellow's life may be spared—and not his life only, but his sanity and good sense.

The performance of this work by the Philharmonic Orchestra, directed by Josef Stransky, was admirable. The audience was rather unresponsive. It is perhaps too much to expect that a work of this sort should be generally appreciated at a first hearing; but the way the men of the orchestra played showed that it was appreciated by them and by their conductor.

## A PLAIN LESSON

Fiction teaches us, among other things, that human nature is very much the same under all conditions; that virtue belongs to no class and vice to no locality; that good and evil are combined in all people; and that what creates character is not the absence of evil impulses but the overcoming of evil by good. The chasm which separates classes of people is apparent rather than real; it can always be crossed by kindness and sympathy. For this reason such books as Miss Myra Kelly's "Little Citizens" and Mr. Jacob Riis's various sketches and pictures of the kind of people he was trying to help are bridges across the chasm.

Last winter, on a very cold night, a well-known and very successful man found himself on a trolley car opposite a very shabby and thinly dressed man who was evidently suffering from the cold. The successful man happened to be wearing a new and extremely comfortable fur overcoat, and the contrast between his condition and that of the shivering young man with the sensitive face opposite struck his heart. There was a considerable chasm between them, but he was able to cross it because he has a big heart and knows men. He began in a quiet way to talk with his neighbor by saying, "I suppose you are a workingman? I have been a workingman all my life;" and he proceeded to describe some building work in which he had been engaged. The young man's sensitiveness was disarmed; he found himself talking to one of the most interesting men in America, and this man seemed to be his friend. Presently there was a free exchange of opinions between them. Then the opportunity came to the prosperous man to say to the other: "I fancy you are down on your luck, as I often used to be. I am up on my luck just now, and I would like to be of some service to you; other men were to me. We workingmen must help one another." Before he left he had managed to slip a ten-dollar bill into the hand of a discouraged and half-freezing man.

Travelers who go through the Tennessee or Kentucky mountains, and associate stories of feuds with the strange-looking people and lonely houses they see, might imagine they were in a foreign country; but those who read "Mothering on Perilous" last year know that the "humans" in the mountains are exactly like the "humans" in New York except that they are more elemental. That book was a romance of the realistic kind; the human story is always romantic when it brings to the surface the latent idealism of human nature. Miss Furman's "Sight to the Blind" (Macmillan) recounts an experience of special significance just now when many people are inclined to believe that the divine government of the world has broken down. The trained nurse at the Settlement School on Perilous gave a talk in a little district school-house on the causes and prevention of tuberculosis; and then a little farther on she talked to a group of mothers on the nursing of typhoid and its prevention, as that disease had been epidemic in the country; and there she heard the story of Aunt Dalmanutha, who, before the judgment and curse of God fell on her, as some of the mountain preachers told her, was "the workingest and most capablest woman up and down Clinch." She could weave her fourteen yards, or hoe her acre of corn, or clear her man's stint of new ground a day; and she knew how to plan and manage. But, like Job, one calamity after another had followed her with such persistency that the mountain preachers were sure that God was punishing her; and the woman had turned on God and cursed him. Her husband had died, seven of her sons had followed him, and she had never lifted her voice, she told the nurse; and then she was reduced to a last son and to her little daughter, the child of her prayer. When that child began to grow pale and to pine, she had cried out to God to spare her. "It is cruel, it is onjust," she said. ". . . I will never endure it!" And then the child died, and later, with much weeping, her sight went out; she was old and lonely, desolate and blind. "It were cruel, it were onjust, it were horrible, it were wicked of God to treat me that way, and never will I say it wa'n't." And then the trained nurse waited a minute and answered quietly and slowly:

> It *was* cruel, it was unjust, it was horrible, it was wicked, that you should have been made to suffer so; above all, Aunt Dalmanutha, it was unnecessary. With a little knowledge, and proper food and fresh air, your daughter's life could have been saved; with knowledge and proper treatment your sons need not have died of dysentery or typhoid or even diphtheria; with knowledge your blindness itself, which is no curse, but would as surely have come upon you had you never lost Evy and never rebelled in your heart, need have lasted only a few months. For these are cataracts that you have on your eyes, and nothing would have been simpler and easier than their removal.

The sorrowful woman had a brain, and she began to use it; she saw that she was holding God responsible for conditions which were of human making; and when her sight was restored, as it was when she knew where to go for advice and help, she became radiantly happy. She had lost her children, but she had regained her faith in infinite love. There are many people to-day who are holding God responsible for conditions made by men in defiance of his will, against his law, and in bitterest antagonism to his love.

# AMERICAN EXPORTS OF WAR MUNITIONS

## A POLL OF THE PRESS

THE Cedar Rapids (Iowa) "Gazette" chronicles the report that a Pennsylvania firm has received a big foreign order for submarines, and adds:

> Back and forth, across the numerous countries ridden by war, flash automobiles, great, powerful machines, many of which were built in the United States and shipped to foreign ports for war usage. Ammunition made in the United States was used until the supply was exhausted. . . .
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> Right now thousands of horses are being purchased in the United States for shipment to England and France. A purchasing agent was in Cedar Rapids this week to buy one hundred head. The slaughter of American horses has been tremendous, of such magnitude as to advance the horse market quotations in this country by leaps and bounds.

All these things, concludes the Iowa paper, tend to show that the United States has been implicated in the war to a considerable extent. "Some may even maintain that this country must carry its share of the responsibility for the war, inasmuch as it has done so much toward supplying the necessities."

Referring to the submarine order, the Philadelphia "Telegraph" thinks it a matter of course that Mr. Charles M. Schwab would agree not to construct submarines in this country for the use of belligerents in the European war if the Administration notified him, as was its duty, that such work would be a violation of neutral rights. The paper adds:

> Neutral nations have paid high for permitting that to be done, and England itself has had that experience, having paid the United States a large sum for allowing Confederate cruisers to be fitted out and sailed from her harbors during the Civil War. . . .
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> The Administration has acted wisely in this matter, and has yielded no rights in relation to any of the belligerents. It has undertaken to maintain a strict neutrality, and the prohibition of war-ship construction is an essential part of that policy. To build and ship in sections would have been a mere subterfuge which could not have been explained.

The sale of arms and ammunition is large, according to the editor of the "Fatherland," a paper printed in this country in the interest of Germany and Austria. He reports, we do not know on what authority, that England is getting from one company 200,000 rifles and 200,000,000 cartridges, and that this company will also send to England its total output of artillery cartridge cases; that from still another company England is getting 700,000 rifles and 200,000,000 cartridges; that another company has sold 15,000 machine guns and 50,000 revolvers to England; another, 200 armored motor cars, with machine guns; and another, 4,000,000 pounds of powder; that France has a contract for 900 howitzers, for 7,000,000 pounds of powder, for 100,000 rifles and 13,000,000 cartridges; that Russia has orders for artillery ammunition estimated to amount to $12,000,000, for 100,000 carbines and 100,000,000 cartridges, and for aeroplanes.

But the sale of arms and ammunition will be checked if Senator Hitchcock has his way. He has introduced a bill in Congress to forbid American powder and arms manufacturers to sell their products to belligerents in time of war. This legislation is urged because one group of belligerents which, with the ocean open to their vessels, is able to obtain these supplies secures an undue advantage over the group the commerce of which has been blocked.

The Milwaukee "Sentinel" may be taken as a representative of those newspapers, evidently in the minority, which look favorably upon the proposition. "We make bold to say," declares the "Sentinel," "that it would be for the world's good and consonant with the higher progress if the law were changed." The Milwaukee paper adds:

> The Hitchcock Bill brings up the question whether, in view of Great Britain's ability to prevent direct shipments to Germany and her allies, the finer spirit of neutrality does not obligate us to prevent by statute the right of our citizens under international law to "vend and export arms."

Another Milwaukee paper, however, the "Leader," points out an obvious truth. It is difficult to see, says this Milwaukee journal, wherein the sale of war munitions after war has begun is more evil than the sale of war munitions before war has been declared. In either event a bomb or bullet is as deadly. "There were many of our citizens who thought it unfriendly for the Kaiser to permit the Krupps to supply Huerta with guns and ammunition after we had landed an expedition at Vera Cruz to prevent arms from reaching him, but the

Kaiser's Government saw no impropriety in providing him with arms." The Milwaukee paper thus continues:

> The Krupps have equipped nearly every nation in Europe. Germany has been like the eagle whose feathers tipped the arrow that pierced its breast. But business is business. There could be nothing more intolerable to German capitalism than to place a ban upon the sale of cannon and armaments—one of its principal industries.
>
> American capitalists, who are not a bit less enterprising than those of Germany and England, have always believed that whatever can be manufactured in Europe could and should be made here. The last thing that they would countenance would be an attack upon our home industries.
>
> We have an idea that Congress will not pass Senator Hitchcock's bill. He might submit such a proposal for adoption by all of the Powers at an international congress after the war shall be over, to be rejected by the Krupps, the Armstrongs, and the Schwabs, lest, by discouraging preparations for war or the ability of any defenseless nation to prosecute a defensive campaign, peace should be imperiled.

Senator Hitchcock himself is thus reported concerning the matter:

> An argument put forward against my bill is that, if we prohibit the sale of arms and munitions of war to belligerents now as a violation of neutrality, we may find ourselves embarrassed if we ever get into a war and need to look abroad for war supplies.
>
> I concede that it is the strongest argument yet advanced against the measure, and yet it can be answered; for it does not necessarily follow that, because we refuse to sell arms and munitions of war abroad, we will not be able to buy abroad, for there would be some country ready to sell to us, and if all countries quit selling there would be no more wars.

As a matter of fact, it is the right of Americans to sell contraband of war to belligerents. The New York "Sun" quotes Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, as saying:

> Our citizens have been always free to make, vend, and export arms. It is the constant occupation and livelihood of some of them. To suppress their callings, the only means perhaps of their subsistence, because a war exists in foreign and distant countries, in which we have no concern, would scarcely be expected. It would be hard in principle and impossible in practice. The law of nations, respecting the rights of peace, does not require from them such an internal disarrangement in their occupations.

The same paper also quotes Secretary Olney:

> The citizens of the United States have a right to sell arms and munitions of war to all comers—neither the sale nor the transportation of such merchandise, except in connection with and in furtherance of a military expedition prosecuted from our shores, is a breach of international duty.

It is no concern of the nation at peace to who is helped or who is hurt by this lawful trade, asserts the "Sun." "It is for the belligerents to intercept, if they can, contraband of war consigned to their enemies. Theodore Salisbury Woolsey, Professor of International Law at Yale, writing in the same paper, says:

> The President forbids a large contract for submarines in sections, which are simple contraband, by our absurd construction of the statute which forbids our furnishing ships. A Senator proposes a bill to stop dealing in contraband altogether.
>
> Why should a neutral government prefer belligerent interests to neutral interests? It is a betrayal of trust. More than that, it is an assumption by the neutral of the belligerent duty of preventing the carriage of contraband, thus illegally taking part in the war and inevitably aiding one belligerent at the expense of the other, as well as to our own cost.

"The one and sole interest which the Government should favor is that of the United States," the "Sun" declares, "yet, as if its trade and commerce had not been sufficiently dislocated and imperiled by the war, . . . there are 'idealists' and foreign partisans in the Congress who are eager to go still further to cripple American manufacturing and to put a severe embargo on the sale of supplies to belligerents."

"Any change arrived at during the progress of the war in the provisions of the statutes or regulations controlling exports would itself constitute a breach of neutrality," affirms Mr. George Haven Putnam in a letter published in several New York papers. "The munitions and supplies in question are open to the purchase of all of the contestants, the shipments being of course made at the risk of either the shipper or the buyer." Mr. Putnam concludes, as do most critics, that if in the progress of the contest the commerce of one group of contestants has been blocked, "the condition is one for which the United States is in no way responsible and of which it ought, according to my understanding, to take no official cognizance."

The Outlook's discussion of this subject is to be found on another page.

# THE STORY OF THE WAR

## BY ARTHUR BULLARD

### THE OUTLOOK'S WAR CORRESPONDENT AT HOME

FROM the 9th to the 16th of December there were no reports of sweeping movements on land in the two main battlefields of France and Poland. Servia scored the military honors of the week. And the naval battle off the Falkland Islands was the most dramatic incident.

In the eastern campaign, the reports indicate, the Russian retreat has stopped and Warsaw is no longer in immediate danger. The news from East Prussia shows how much the official bulletins leave unsaid. In November we were told that the Russians had defeated a German force at Mlawa, had driven them across the frontier, and had occupied Soldau, one of the most important railway junctions in East Prussia. There was no more news from this quarter until early in December the despatches began to refer to a German advance south through Mlawa, with the evident intent to get behind the right flank of the Russian Army of Poland. Such a move could not have been possible unless the Germans had first reoccupied Soldau and Mlawa—of which operation we had heard no word. But day after day the despatches gave greater importance to this operation. The Russian official bulletins of the 14th and 15th claimed that this drive was defeated and that the Germans were being driven back once more towards the East Prussian frontier.

There does not seem to have been any large movement on the main front from Lowicz through Piotrkow to the Galician border near Cracow. The Russians—after abandoning Lodz—managed to stand firm on their new line. Both sides seem to be gathering breath and strength for the next move. In this waiting game the advantages are to the Russians.

The Galician campaign to the south is covered with a fog of uncertainty. The Austrians apparently have sacrificed their Servian campaign in order to concentrate against Russia. Their effort seems to have been to turn the left flank of the long Russian line, so to relieve Przemysl and Cracow. There has been no indication so far of success for this move, but the fighting here seems to be still undecided.

In the western campaign there have been no changes which could be noted except on a very large map. The official French bulletins have announced minute advantages at many points along the line from Alsace to the Channel. Individually these gains are small, but taken together they show that the Germans are on the defensive, and that everywhere the Allies are maintaining a steady pressure. In all probability they are concentrating their reserves at various railway centers fifty or a hundred miles back of the firing line, ready to pour them into any breach they may make in the German line. The three points of greatest pressure seem to have been the two extremes—Alsace and Flanders—and the valley of the Meuse near St. Mihiel.

The fighting has been continuous and desperate at this latter point since the outbreak of the war. The Germans had a heavy concentration of first-line troops at Metz even in times of peace. This "garrison" force was able to fight its way through the French defense to the town of St. Mihiel, on the Meuse, and to throw some troops across the river. But to the west of the river is a line of high cliffs—not unlike the Palisades on the New Jersey side of the Hudson—and on their crest the French resistance stiffened and the Germans were halted.

The French have tried to regain St. Mihiel by continuous direct attacks and by persistent efforts to cut in between this outpost and the base at Metz. It is now reported that they have closed in till the Germans hold only one road to bring up their supplies, and that the French have advanced from both north and south to within cannon shot of this last line of communication.

The presence of the Germans on the left bank of the Meuse is a constant menace of a new advance into the heart of France. General Joffre is likely to bend his every effort to dislodge them from this vantage-point before he pushes a serious offense elsewhere.

#### SERVIA RESURGENS

The obituary notice for Servia which I wrote two weeks ago was decidedly premature. The Serbs have come to life again with a whoop. The Russian raids into Hungary had their desired effect. The Austrian operations which resulted in the fall of Belgrade are said to have engaged seven army corps—about 300,000 men. And nearly half of this force was recalled to take part in the effort to relieve Cracow.

The Serbs had been driven back from the flat country to the north into their mountains. But as soon as the Austrian force was weakened they swarmed down on the plain once more, and official despatches from Nish claim a decisive victory and the reoccupation of Belgrade. The official Austrian bulletins admit a serious reverse and heavy losses.

The news of this new Servian victory will hardly increase the loyalty of the Austrian Slavs. New and more detailed reports of dissatisfaction in Hungary are current. The plight of the House of Hapsburg seems to be growing from bad to worse.

### THE WAR AT SEA

The fundamental principle of land and naval strategy is the same. All great generals—while they may make some concessions to miracles—believe that God fights on the side of the most numerous battalions and the driest powder. There is a romantic legend that in the brave old days of chivalry a really debonair knight errant would voluntarily surrender " unfair " advantages so as to fight on equal terms. But there is little, if any, historical evidence of such noble courtesy in war. The maxim of modern strategy—on land or sea—is to outnumber your enemy. The business of the Admiralty—as of the General Staff ashore—is to concentrate sufficient odds in its favor to make defeat a miracle.

All the naval forces of the Allies are working in the closest co-operation under orders from London, so the British Admiralty disposes of a force many times stronger than that of Germany and Austria. The main German strength was grouped about the Kiel Canal, and the Austrian fleet was on the Adriatic. The British Admiralty knew the approximate position of every hostile ship at the moment of the declaration of war. It was necessary to concentrate naval forces in the North Sea and the Adriatic which were amply strong enough to blockade the main German and Austrian strength. But a number of hostile ships were scattered about in other parts of the world.

The Breslau and Goeben were in the Mediterranean. Efforts to capture them failed ; they escaped into the Dardanelles and were " bought " by Turkey. But they were bottled up there and the important sea route from Suez to Gibraltar was open to commerce.

The Karlsruhe was known to be in the neighborhood of the West Indies. It has done large damage to British shipping already and has not—as we go to press—been put out of action.

Other isolated German war-ships were at large in the Atlantic. They were mostly merchant ships which had been quickly converted into commerce destroyers. Apparently they have all been cleaned up.

The main German naval strength outside of European waters was in the Pacific. The Admiralty undoubtedly knew the number of these ships and their exact location at the outbreak of hostilities. But once a ship has disappeared over the horizon, it is lost—it becomes as elusive as the needle in the haystack. There were two chances. The German ships might act separately—like the Emden—and try to do as much damage as possible in a career which, however brilliant, was sure to be short. Or they might concentrate and act as a unit. It is probable that the British expected that they would get together. But, of course, there was no way of knowing where they had planned their rendezvous. Until Japan's intentions were known, it was a fair guess that they would try to keep in touch with their base at Kiaochau.

The Admiralty had a more pressing duty than the immediate destruction of the hostile ships. First of all, it had to assure convoys for the transports which were bringing the colonial troops to Europe. And it is probable that from the very first the available war-ships of the Allies were rushed to those waters where the troop-ships were moving. The appearance of the Emden in the Indian Ocean would tend to strengthen the expectation of a concerted German action in that neighborhood.

We do not know certainly where the various units of Admiral von Spee's fleet were when war broke out. Censorship is very much more easy at sea than on land, and we can only guess at what happened. The indications are that the German ships were ordered to concentrate at some place off the coast of South America. Apparently the English expected them to turn up in the Far East. It is probable that every one of the

Allies' squadrons, cruising between New Zealand and Suez, was much stronger than the combined German fleet.

It is hard to understand why the Germans took to South American waters—for there was no part of the globe where they could do less harm to British interests. By going where they were least expected they certainly managed to keep afloat longer than if they had tried to strike at more vulnerable points. If this German fleet had dashed into the Indian Ocean and sunk a couple of troopships, even if they had gone to the bottom in August instead of December, it would have been a much greater blow to the Allies than anything they could hope to accomplish on the Chilean coast. The explanation of their course will probably come out after the war, but the record of their other ships and their own last fight, which they could have avoided by accepting the shelter of a neutral harbor, is enough to prove that cowardice was not their motive.

Although their run to the Horn was hardly to be expected, the British Admiralty ought to have recognized it as a possibility. And, although fuller future knowledge may show mitigating circumstances, it certainly seems to have been very bad strategy to have allowed Admiral Cradock to get in the Germans' way in such inferior strength.

The chance or blunder which threw a weak English squadron in the path of the German fleet was better luck than Admiral von Spee had any right to expect. In a very businesslike way he steamed in and sank all the English ships which stayed to fight. But this easy victory was also his death-warrant.

Several hours before we read in the papers of the fight off Coronel the British Admiralty had the news. In one of the rooms in their office in London is a great map of the world, and the position of every one of their ships is indicated. Within an hour after the news reached London the commanders of the Allies' ships in all the seven seas were deciphering despatches which told that Admiral von Spee's fleet was located off the coast of Chile. Every available ship—British, French, Russian, Japanese—sounded the "hullabaloo" and started under full steam for the Horn.

The Germans were probably outnumbered ten to one in the Pacific. The destruction of the Emden had freed the British ships which were guarding the Indian Ocean. The fall of Kiaochau had released the entire Japanese fleet. Very likely the French and Russian Pacific squadrons outnumbered the Germans.

It is quite probable that on some of the uninhabited islands of the sea, on some barren and isolated points of the Chilean coast, the Germans had established secret wireless stations. Von Spee undoubtedly knew the fate which was preparing for him. His one chance was a dash around the Horn into the Atlantic.

But the gentlemen standing before the big map in the Admiralty Office in London could see as plainly as he that this was his only chance. Orders had gone out to the Allies' ships in the Atlantic. They were rushing towards the Horn from Cape Town, from Madeira, from Gibraltar and the West Indies.

We do not know the names nor the numbers of the ships which finally cornered von Spee off the Falkland Islands. The British Admiral—Sturdee—whose name is mentioned in the despatches was supposed to be in England. Perhaps he had brought warships from the home fleet with him.

We have no knowledge of the extent of the English losses. The official bulletin says that they were small, but the same officials thought that the loss of the Audacious was too small to mention.

The Dresden alone, of the German ships, escaped. It put into the neutral harbor of Punta Arenas and reported that the British fleet was much larger than the German, and included two superdreadnoughts. But the number of ships which took part in the actual fight is a rather uninteresting detail. If von Spee had sunk them all, he would have had to meet twice as many on the morrow.

He was really defeated the moment he encountered Admiral Cradock's fleet and told the British Admiralty where he was.

As we go to press on the 16th the news comes that German ships have bombarded some of the English coast towns on the North Sea a short distance above Hull. The first despatches indicate a small loss of life and no very serious material damage.

If this is the isolated raid of some daring cruisers which have slipped through the blockade, it will have little effect beyond stimulating recruiting in England. But it may be the first move of a more ambitious attempt. Every indication, however, points to a great superiority for the Allies' fleet in these waters.

New York, December 16, 1914.

# JAPAN'S PLATONIC WAR WITH GERMANY

## BY ELIZA RUHAMAH SCIDMORE[1]

JAPAN joined very slowly and deliberately, evidently reluctantly, in the great war last summer; responded, as bound by her alliance to do whenever requested, and this time "to protect British commerce in the Eastern seas." So quietly and so slowly did the wheels of Government move towards that end that many hoped until the very last moment that Japan would not be embroiled at all. It meant a setback to all political plans and the breaking of the promise to reduce taxation by which Count Okuma's party had come to power, in opposition to the military clique which had ruled so long unhindered and continually demanded more millions for more armament. The 16,000,000 yen surplus in the Treasury, which gave opportunity to reduce the business tax under which the mercantile classes were groaning, vanished into the 60,000,000 yen appropriated for the Shantung expedition, and the merchants stoically accepted the situation.

Throughout the whole affair Japan has been calm, quiet, self-contained—a splendid object-lesson of how to go to war and not lose your head. There was no boasting, no hurrahing, no noisy "On to Tsingtau!" The troops moved unseen, the expedition embarking from southern ports, and northern troops moving down by night trains to replace the departed garrisons in Kiushiu Castle towns. All the rules of war on land and sea, all the Hague conventions, and all the etiquette of slaughter on land, in the air, on and under the sea, have been scrupulously observed—a war with velvet gloves—"our platonic war" with Germany, as T. Miyaoka has so cleverly described it.

Early on the morning of the 15th of August a few mounted lancers, preceding the Court carriages, escorted the Emperor and Empress and their suites to the railway station. All Nikko, upper and lower village people, officials and priests, and a thousand picturesque white-clad pilgrims on their way to the midnight ceremonies on the summit of Nantaisan, lined the streets in devout silence as the little cavalcade went by in the earliest sunrise. There was a council at the Tokyo palace that afternoon, and the ultimatum went to Germany, despatched through Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Siberia, and America, to make sure that it reached Berlin promptly.

Not often in history has the whirligig of time brought about so picturesque an incident as that of Japan now in alliance with two of the Powers (France and Russia) that made the protest against Japan's retaining dearly won Port Arthur in 1905, "advising" the third Power (Germany) to withdraw from the Chinese mainland "for the sake of the peace of the Far East." It could not be called a rude or insulting note, for Japan employed the exact words and phrases of "advice" given her ten years ago, repeating the German note of 1905 verbatim. At the end of the China War in 1895 Japan could not match the great fleet of Russian, French, and German cruisers gathered at Chefu, all cleared for action to enforce their advice. Japan choked her pride and her wrath and submitted. Resistance would have been folly; useless bloodshed the immediate result, and the further consequences incalculable.

Disregarding the Austrian example in ultimatums, Japan allowed Germany a week to return an answer to her advice, and a month for disarmament and withdrawal should Germany accept the advice. Upon receipt of the ultimatum in Berlin every Japanese in Germany was clapped into prison, the German Government explaining that it could not otherwise protect them. Japanese Embassy officials could not see or communicate with them, nor get the list of their names. One hundred and seventy-eight Japanese professors and students, valets, acrobats, shopkeepers, and even children, were so detained, with no definite charge against any one of them. Next the German Government seized £250,000 of Japanese Government money deposited in the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, and grim war was on without any answer being returned to the ultimatum.

Neither the ultimatum nor the declaration of war made any difference whatever in the condition of the German residents in Japan. No disturbance or demonstration was made, no change occurred in their relations or conditions. German reservists continued to leave for America and Tsingtau—even by Japanese vessels—and no one was arrested or molested.

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[1] Miss Scidmore is recognized in the East as one of the foremost of American authorities on Japan and Japanese affairs, a reputation which was established in 1890 by the publication of her book "Jinrikisha Days in Japan." She was in Japan at the time of the declaration of war, and has only just returned to the United States.—THE EDITORS.

With appreciation of what had befallen British, Russian, and French Ambassadors and Consuls as they left Berlin and other German cities, the German Ambassador in Tokyo was in a panic from the first week of August. His fears were so conspicuous and so unnecessary that the manifestation of them gave the one touch of gayety to the affairs of all nations that seethed in Tokyo's terrific heat. Count Rex, elderly, stout, rheumatic, had suffered one strain to his nerves the winter that the bubonic plague threatened him at his post in Peking, and his alarms in Tokyo caused a further and more elaborate locking of gates and doors and shuttering of all the visible windows in his Embassy compound. Attachés living in other parts of Tokyo removed to the Embassy inclosure at once by his order. But even after the ultimatum expired and a state of war existed between Germany and Japan Count Rex and his staff lived on for a week in Tokyo and no demonstrations were made in the hot, deserted stretches of Nagatocho, where the lonely police and gendarmes watched one another day in and out.

The German Ambassador and his staff and his Consuls sailed August 30, and the remaining German community saw their officials off, with all the flowers and toasts, "*Hochs!*" and "*Auf Wiedersehens!*" their hearts desired, on the American steamer Minnesota for Seattle. One German yachtsman even cruised about the harbor in a catboat with the German flag at the mast bellowing his last regards by megaphone. The officers of the Japanese torpedo-boats, acting as guard ships for Yokohama, only smiled at this naïve disregard of international etiquette. No imagination could picture a Japanese flag assisting at a similar function in Hamburg's or Bremen's harbor with German torpedo-boats smiling on the scene.

Simultaneously with the declaration of war the Minister of Home Affairs, alarmed by the savage ways of war in Christian Europe, issued instructions concerning the protection of German subjects in Japan, securing them the same protection of person, property, and honor as before if they conducted themselves without prejudice to the interests of Japan and her allies. The Minister of Education warned teachers not to make imprudent remarks that might rouse the animosity of young students, and urged them to show every kindness and facility to German teachers and students who might be called to the colors. The Chief of Police in Tokyo reminded people that, although the two Governments "had entered into hostilities for good reasons," the people of the two countries as individuals should not act against each other in any way, and that the citizens of Tokyo should be more magnanimous than ever to those Germans who chose to remain; that they should not hold public meetings to inspire animosity, but always to be worthy members of a civilized country. Wherefore German residents went about their affairs as freely as American or Spanish residents. Of twenty-four German teachers in Government employ only three left to join the colors at Tsingtau, over fifty German teachers remained in private employ, and no students or classes showed disrespect or turbulence. German mining engineers continued their duties at distant mountain villages among thousands of laborers, and even the German editor of a subsidized newspaper continued his criticisms of everything Japanese, his philippics against England, and Hobson prophecies of war between Japan and America. After one warning by the police his journal was suppressed and he was ordered to leave. Angered Britons, when they had cooled, realized that it would have been better to imprison him "for protection," as he speedily went to Peking and assumed charge of an anti-Japanese newspaper, and began to make things hum in that distracted, politics-ridden capital.

Contrary to European example, German Government money deposited in Japan was not touched, and the Deutsche Bank in Yokohama continues unhindered in its management. No German property was injured, no German molested. No one's German governess, valet, or employee of any kind was interfered with or imprisoned. Germans naïvely wrote their names in the lists for tennis tournaments, unconscious of the fact that not a British woman or child would tread the same court with them.

While this went on in Japan non-combatant Japanese were still detained in German prisons and the vigorous representations of the American Ambassador in Berlin were unavailing. In October the German authorities, through the American Government, intimated that the Japanese prisoners would be released provided the Japanese Government gave a similar guarantee for the safety of German residents in Japan! If that were guaranteed, the German Government would "not only release the Japanese, but even afford them all facilities for departure." On October 27, through the still more strenuous efforts of Ambassador Gerard, seventy-one Japanese were delivered to him and sent under Embassy escort to Zurich, Switzerland; but thirty-eight Japanese remained in German jails, some of them the children of Japanese residents in Germany.

The Germans, one and all, bitterly resented Japan's coming into the war game. They could not accept the same logic and plea of loyalty to an ally by which they explained Germany's stand by her ally, Austria. They recounted unceasingly all that Japan owed to Germany in military and medical training, modern science, and art and philosophy. Japan even owes the life of Japan's Emperor to Germany, they said, since as a delicate child he was cared for by a German physician. They proved so convincingly that everything was due to contact with German culture that for once Commodore Perry had a rest, and no American made himself heard with that perennial, age-worn claim of the American after-dinner speaker in Japan: "We did it all"—*i.e.*, started Japan in the path of modern science and progress. Are "We" and "Commodore Perry" always to be crammed down the Japanese throat at the Japanese banquet board by the touring American?

The German officials left, protesting the ingratitude of the world and Japan. "Why, this war was not to come off until next spring," whimpered one German official's incautious wife; "and then we were all to have been safely home in Germany before it began." A most illuminating break, which the British circulated with gusto.

The German officials were convinced that the German army would be in Paris by September 15, before their ships could reach Seattle; that the war would be over in a few months; and that they would all return quickly to their dwellings, which they left intact, servants on duty, gardens growing.

There was no war thirst in Japan, no lingering animosity or resentment at the advice of 1895 that had robbed them of Port Arthur, no race hatred or cry of "white peril" when war was declared. Intellectual Japan grieved deeply at the necessity; every army surgeon and university professor was saddened at being arrayed against honored teachers, and was cut to the quick by the violent expressions of German professors and officials. "Japan biting at Europe's heel," and "robbing" and "stealing Tsingtau," often raised peals of merriment.

The Eighteenth Army Division and other divisions in the southern island furnished the force of thirty thousand men, under the command of Lieutenant-General Kamio, which constituted the Shantung expedition. General Bannardiston with twelve hundred British, eight hundred Wales Borderers, and eight hundred Indian troops joined the land force, and British ships took part in the blockade, the whole fleet commanded by Admiral Kato. The whole Japanese navy was in commission, but only small cruisers, torpedo-boats, and destroyers were at Tsingtau. The battle-ships and swift cruisers were off scouting the South Sea for the marauding German cruisers, keeping the ways of commerce safe for merchant ships, concentrating with the British ships towards the South American coast, and escorting the great fleet of transports that bore the Australian contingent of 35,000 troops as far as Suez.

As the blockading fleet took position off Tsingtau, August 25, a typhoon swept the coast, and it was followed by a second and fiercer typhoon, that scattered the ships and made landing from transports a difficult affair at Laitschou Bay, one hundred miles north of Tsingtau.

Shantung Province was flooded as it has not been flooded in sixty years; rivers rose until whole valleys were inundated; villages of mud-walled houses melted into these lakes, and crops were drowned. The trenches around Tsingtau were filled or washed away, embankments crumbled, wire entanglements collapsed, and hidden land mines were exposed. All Shantung was a mud slough after the waters fell, and it was a fortnight before the last Japanese contingent and the heavy siege guns were landed. Through sloughs of mud they reached the shores of Kiaochau Bay, and farther inland seized a station of the German railway line leading up three hundred miles to the provincial capital of Tsinanfu. This railway, connecting with the Tientsin-Pukow line from the Yangtze, which was German property and partly owned by the German Government, was seized for all its length, its bridges rebuilt, its coal mines relieved of their hidden explosives, and the locomotives fitted with missing parts. By this railway the Germans had received war materials, food supplies, reservists from all parts of China, and the returning crew of the disarmed Austrian cruiser which had been interned in earliest August. The Germans had been making belated efforts to transfer their railway to some neutral Power, but the neutral Legations at Peking were firm against any such entanglement. The British Minister seemed to be the only one in Peking whose advice Yuan Shi-kai asked for and followed, and when things were at more than boiling-point at Tsinanfu, and the German officials were threatening, Yuan Shi-kai sent them his trusted political adviser, Dr. Morrison, formerly of the London "Times." To those familiar with the tangle of Peking's personal politics of the last decade this was another rare touch of humor in the gloomy world. Throughout the siege Tsingtau had had communication by wireless with both Peking and Shanghai, and the Chinese officials were well-nigh distracted by British and Japanese demands that this means of communication cease.

From the very first the Japanese announced that it would be a slow campaign, their first object being to avoid all possible loss of life on either side. It was their hope that the besieged would see the folly of prolonging operations and surrender while they could make terms.

But the Kaiser exhorted the garrison at Tsingtau to hold out to the end, as he would rather see the enemy in Berlin than lose his empire in the East. The Japanese called for surrender, and the Governor, Meyer Waldeck, answered:

> Never shall we surrender the smallest bit of ground over which the German flag is flying. From this place we shall not retreat. If the enemy wants Tsingtau, he must come and take it.

It was reported that there was a strong feeling for surrender on the part of the three thousand German reservists, under the age of forty-five, drawn from business and professional life in all parts of the Far East. No reinforcements nor outside aid could ever be expected, and it was only a tedious wait for certain death, the practical ones said. The Governor and the military officers would not listen to talk of surrender, and duels were fought over the suggestion. From time to time reservists who had no stomach for fighting against such forlorn hope, or who reasoned that live Germans in Hankow or Shanghai were better than dead ones in Tsingtau, slipped away by night, reappeared in those cities, and unblushingly defended their conduct. Several reservists even returned to Japan while the siege went on, and one German officer, Major Derkenman, military adviser to Yuan Shi-kai, who had left that billet to go to Tsingtau in early August, returned to Peking and resumed attendance on Yuan Shi-kai. It was farcical after that to insist upon the Chinese interning the crew of the German torpedo-boat stranded on a rock as they were effecting their escape from beleaguered Tsingtau. It was boldly suggested in print that Japanese aviators should distribute maps showing a convenient back door left open every night for such reservists as wished to abandon Tsingtau before it was too late.

Before the general attack on the posts began, October 22, the Japanese called a second time for surrender and gave opportunity for the non-combatants to leave. The American Consul, some women and children, and priests were passed from one boat to another in a rough sea outside the harbor, where more than a thousand fixed and floating mines had been dredged up and snared. Chinese junks past counting had been blown up, as well as one Japanese cruiser and destroyers of both sides, by these mines. A band of women shell-divers from the province of Ise offered their services to clear away the mines, but the Japanese authorities denied them emphatically. They were puzzled and aghast at foreigners' applause and approval of such an impossible thing as women taking any part in military work. Some kink in the Japanese brain made the thing so absurd and improper that no Japanese whom I knew could agree with me that it was the most picturesque incident of the war. Any one who has seen those Ise women somersault down into Toba Bay and crawl around for three and five whole minutes before coming up with a pearl shell knows that they could have dealt with fixed and floating mines as easily.

The real bombardment of the inner forts began on October 31, the Emperor's official birthday, "as prearranged," they might have said; for a party of high officials, foreign military *attachés*, and members of Parliament had been waiting for a fortnight in Tokyo ready to embark on a despatch boat to Tsingtau "to watch operations in Shantung."

The first lot of prisoners, seventy-seven in all, and all captured on outpost duty, were brought to Japan early in October and assigned to Kurume, on the southern island, the headquarters of the Eighteenth Army Division. They were received at the station with ceremony by the military officers of the garrisons, by Mrs. Kamio and the members of the local Red Cross Society. I visited them myself later. The men were quartered in a Buddhist preaching-hall and class-rooms, the officers in the Lord Abbot's rooms at the Bairingi Temple, and the wounded men in a separate ward of the military hospital, where the chief surgeon and all his attendants spoke German. Officers, men, and invalids were allowed to speak to me freely, and one and all acknowledged the courtesy, consideration, and unfailing kindness of the Japanese officers in charge. As with the Russian prisoners of war in 1904 and 1905, the Japanese are doing "As The Hague Ordains,"[1] and then doing even a little more for their charges.

The captives are kept at different old castle towns, now headquarters of military divisions in the southern islands, in order to gain the advantage of mild winter weather. Buddhist temples and preaching-halls have been rented for such use, and are readily adapted to the purpose. The prisoners live under the most lenient regulations, and the Prisoners' Information Bureau in Tokyo permits communication, takes charge of any consignments, and answers any letters of inquiry concerning the captives. The prisoners' families may join them, rent houses in the towns, and the prisoners may live there with them under light restrictions, as Russian prisoners were permitted to do in 1904 and 1905.

I once heard a blustery American take a Japanese to task for exhibiting at the Panama Exposition. "Why do you help make this fair a success in the State and the city where Legislature, press, and people have so abused you? Pay them back, draw out, save your money!" thundered the irate one. "They'll never thank you."

"Ah," was the answer, "that would be a very small spirit, to show resentment in such way. Japan rejoices more than other nations that the Panama Canal is complete. We can make a first exhibit of Japanese magnanimity, perhaps."

Since the war began Japan has been courted by all the Powers in Europe and directly and indirectly appealed to for help. In season and out, M. Pichon, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, has argued in print for a Japanese contingent in Europe; he remembers and always acknowledges generously that he, while French Minister at Peking, owed his life, as did all the other foreigners, to the stiff defense of the Su Wang Fu by Colonel Shiba and his Japanese guards and volunteers. Besides troops—a whole army corps, it is said, the Russians have called for to strike the sure terror to the heart of the enemy which they themselves experienced when Nogi's men from Port Arthur fell upon the Russian right at Mukden—besides a fighting contingent, there has been a call for a body of one hundred thousand Japanese coolies to intrench, that feature of the division of military labor having impressed all foreign observers of the war in Manchuria.

It is comforting to any people to be appreciated, to have their merits and abilities acknowledged, to be the honored ally of Great Britain, and to work with her in military and naval undertakings; but Japan has not at all lost her head with all the successes, courting, and coaxing and flattery that have gone on. She knows she is a great Power, with a great navy, and an army second to none in merciless efficiency and first in humanity and chivalry, and her people have no notion of mixing in the European mess, of marching to the shambles of Europe, of dying for any other emperor than their own. Despite Congressman Hobson's warnings and prophecies and the machinations of the Peking press and diplomatic wire-pullers and of the American masquerader in Tokyo, she does not want to and is not "going to war" with America. It would not pay, and Japan is a very hard-headed, practical Japan since the last war left her the great legacy of taxes. Japan is not striving to gain "the supremacy of the Pacific"—if that means ninety per cent of the commerce and carrying trade—because she already has it, and has had it without realizing that it was anything to make a great fuss about. Four merchant ships under the American flag are a pitiful plea for "supremacy;" and, more than this, our strangling navigation laws, the tyranny of labor unions, and the solidarity of the labor vote will forever check the United States from getting any more of the supremacy. As good neighbors and mutual customers, the one needing silk and tea as much as the other needs raw cotton and machinery and wheat, there is room and chance for both without jealousy and crowding and blocking.

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[1] "As The Hague Ordains: The Journal of the Wife of a Russian Prisoner in Japan" (The Century Company, New York).

If ever there was the retort courteous, just retribution, and also an object-lesson that no country can ignore, the Japanese have afforded it in this little war at Tsingtau, a campaign that they entered upon with deliberation and dignity, with every courtesy and honor to the enemy, without boasts or threats, gibes or jeers at their opponents, and without any interference whatever with non-combatants. The whole campaign was conducted according to the rules of war and of chivalry. "*Noblesse oblige*" is easily translated into "the way of the Samurai," and *bushido*, in working even in the field, should by contrast give acute heart-searchings and violent blushes to some in Europe.

There was never any ranting in print, never recourse to petty retaliation, no descent into mediæval savagery. It was a duty, and it was performed with thoroughness and efficiency. Japan has been a loyal ally, an honorable foe, and incidentally has set an example to Christian Europe and shoveled hot coals on Australia's head until the antipodes ought to sizzle. She has turned the other cheek to white Australia, and turned the tables with a magnanimity they must acknowledge. Let us hope that we have done with those senseless catch-words, "the Yellow Peril." This very war has raised too many embarrassing questions as to what is white and which is yellow, and shown that white can become something ranker than yellow, and that Christians may get a lesson in Christian-like conduct from those whom they have essayed to teach.

It was necessary to destroy the Germans' stronghold on the Asiatic mainland and their coaling and wireless stations throughout the South Seas in order to protect commerce and trade and industry. Japan must have wool from Australia and cotton from America and iron from China to keep her factories running, and silk and tea and small wares must go to America if Japan's people are to live and pay taxes. Her commerce must be protected at all cost, and, thanks to her navy, Japanese steamships have crossed the Pacific back and forth unhindered, keeping to their fixed schedules just as they did last year.

There have been gay little by-plays in the Pacific to relieve the hideous tales of the war in Europe. "The Marshall Islands must be taken. There's coal and a wireless station there," said the British Admiralty lords. The Japanese went—only eight hundred miles, two days' steaming from Japanese island shores—and took them, and handed them over to Australia with an indifferent "You may have them if you want them," that ought to rest America's hair-trigger nerves. The capture of the Marshall Islands was a gay little comedy that should get into comic opera yet. There was no fighting, no shot fired in anger, no defense by the little body of Germans at Jaluit when the Japanese cruisers came. Two surveying schooners sank themselves into the bay, an imprisoned Japanese copra buyer was set free, and the German Governor given two hours to get ready to go to Japan on the man-of-war. At Yokosuka, the naval station in Yeddo Bay, the German Governor of Jaluit and his family were put on a torpedo-boat and rushed up to Yokohama at a gait of thirty miles an hour—to a Japanese dungeon and chains, of course, the gloomy Germans thought. A charming young American Vice-Consul, in a high hat and frock coat, and the chairman of the German residents' committee, also in gala array, were waiting to receive the Jaluit party at the *hatoba*. The Japanese officer in charge presented his passengers, clicked his heels together, saluted, and was gone—racing back to Yokosuka at full speed. "Where am I to go?" wailed the Governor of Jaluit, and the two high hats conveyed him in a shining motor car to the Grand Hotel. "*Where* am I to go? Where *am* I to go?" he insisted, demanding to know his prison place. It was long before he could comprehend that he might go wherever he pleased, that the Japanese Government wanted none of him, was done with him, and would be only too pleased to have him go soon. German funds were forthcoming from the Deutsche Bank, and he betook himself to Honolulu, where there is a powerful German community and a new German colony of the interned Geier's crew and the crews of German merchant ships that wait the end of the war with him.

Tsingtau was small game, a by-play only of this great war to the victors of Port Arthur, Mukden, and Tsushima. The manner and the good manners of that capture—which they graciously let stand as a surrender, since the white flags rose only as the storming parties rushed through the last breach—their courtesy to the vanquished, their kindness to the prisoners, are the greatest glory of the exploit.

Japan has said that she will ultimately

return Tsingtau to China, administering it until the Peace Conference permits her to negotiate with China. A peaceful and prosperous Shantung, growing beans and silk to ship by the Japanese railway and Japanese ships from the free port of Tsingtau, will pay her best in the long run, and Japan would gain nothing by holding on to Tsingtau. All Europe grinned and scoffed when we said that we would return Cuba after the Spanish War, but we did retire, and occupied and retired from it even a second time. If the meddlers in Peking will only cease to stir strife, China can date a great prosperity from the return of Tsingtau to its owner, never again to be alienated to any European Power. In the last months the Germans wrecked all the public buildings, the docks and wharves, and shell fire destroyed the great barracks and forts, the water-works, and the electric light works. The young forests were cut away on the land side to give the guns sweep, the forty miles of perfect automobile roads were neglected, and forty million marks of German taxpayers' tribute have gone for naught. German trade and commerce are paralyzed, perhaps never to recover, and German merchants, once on the pinnacle of prosperity, are ruined throughout the East.

# THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE—A PRACTICAL PRISON IDEALIST

### BY FRANK MARSHALL WHITE

THE acceptance by Thomas Mott Osborne of the wardenship of Sing Sing Prison, his occupancy of the post approved by the present Governor of the State and by his successor, marks the longest step yet taken in the advancement of the new penology that aims at the moral rehabilitation of offenders against the law. It means that the State of New York has formally abandoned the barbaric system of punishment by retribution, and that hereafter our prisons are to be conducted as hospitals for diseases of the soul, not as institutions in which, in the language of Dr. Frederick H. Wines, guilt is measured on the one hand and suffering on the other and an equitable balance struck between the two. Mr. Osborne's appointment means also a long step toward the consummation looked forward to by the new penologists, when the control of the destinies of a man convicted of crime, by the judge who tried him, shall cease with his committal to prison, the extent of his punishment to be determined by the warden, and only men of exceptional capacity and moral fitness to hold that office.

Mr. Osborne, who is in the middle fifties, is an alumnus of Harvard and a man of affairs. He has retired from business with a fortune, and has held more than one public office. He was Mayor of his native city, Auburn, New York, from 1902 to 1905, and was for nine years a member of the Board of Education of Auburn. He was a member of the Public Service Commission of the Second District from 1907 to 1910, and last year was made Chairman of the State Commission on Prison Reform. During his entire public life he has been known to politicians as an ardent obstructor of political schemes and a consistent enemy of Tammany Hall and all its works. He was little known to the general public, however, until the fall of last year, when he attracted what may fairly be called universal attention by undergoing a week's voluntary confinement in the State Prison at Auburn, during which period he lived the life of the other prisoners, worked with them in the shops, subsisted on their food, and slept locked in a cell at night.

The newspapers of the time published a great deal about Mr. Osborne's prison experiences, but only those who have read his own narrative of those seven days, "Within Prison Walls," can appreciate the nature of the ordeal through which he passed. For he did not test prison life with any sense of adventure; at his age men to whom the comforts and luxuries of life are available are wont to take advantage of them. His sole purpose was to ascertain actual conditions in a State prison; to learn at first hand some of the evils of the existing prison system. "Within Prison Walls," by the way, should be read by every one interested in the proper study of mankind. It is one of the most humanizing books ever written; and what is essential to the progress of the new penology is the humanization—not of the convict, but of the man outside of the prison. The citizen who has kept within the law must be made to understand that conviction for crime does not necessarily imply that the convicted man is a different order of being. The circumstance that Mr. Osborne, as his book shows us, spent a week with men who among them had committed the blackest crimes written in the calendar, and whom we might have been justified in believing to be totally depraved, and found there kindness, sympathy, helpfulness, unselfish friendship, and, in one instance at least, nobility of soul, is calculated to set people to thinking.

Readers of The Outlook are already acquainted with one outcome of Mr. Osborne's prison experience through the article by Orlando F. Lewis, General Secretary of the Prison Association of New York, entitled "The New Freedom at Auburn Prison," which appeared in The Outlook of August 15, and first informed the outside world of the working of the Mutual Welfare League in that institution. Describing the entertainment got up and carried out by the prisoners themselves on the Fourth of July, Mr. Lewis wrote: "I wish I had the power to make the readers of The Outlook sense in full the enormous significance for both present and future of this recent Fourth of July in Auburn Prison."

Of equal significance was the scene in Sing Sing on the first Sunday of the present month, when, for the first time in the history of the prison, Warden Osborne assembled all the prisoners in the chapel and ordered the guards from the room. (The men came in two divisions of about seven hundred each, the chapel not being large enough to seat them all at once.) Those most familiar with the State prisons had felt that the experiment of self-government as applied in Auburn might be dangerous in Sing Sing, which has always been the most turbulent of these institutions, partly because physical conditions make it impossible to keep the inmates decently comfortable a large part of the time, thus generating bad humor among them, and partly because it is the prison for first offenders, who are always more unruly and more easily incited to violence than men who have become accustomed to obey their keepers. Nevertheless, as was the case (pointed out in Mr. Lewis's article) in Auburn, on the Fourth of July there could not have been found a more orderly group of men anywhere between the Atlantic and Pacific than that gathered in the chapel at Sing Sing on Sunday afternoon, December 6.

And less than two years ago the warden of Sing Sing felt it necessary to put a loaded revolver in his pocket when he went into the prison yard! It was only a year ago last July that the prisoners in Sing Sing mutinied and set fire to the shops! It may be remarked incidentally that, again for the first time in the history of Sing Sing, not one infraction of the prison rules was reported for the twenty-four hours ending on the Monday morning following the assemblage of the inmates in the chapel without their guards.

The reason given by Warden Osborne for the dismissal of the guards from the chapel on this Sunday afternoon was that he might discuss alone with the Golden Rule Brotherhood (the Sing Sing organization modeled on the Mutual Welfare League of Auburn) fifteen almost revolutionary changes suggested by the Brotherhood in the prison rules. The most important of these changes was one whereby the prisoners asked that they be permitted to discipline themselves, without initial intervention of warden or keepers. They couched their request thus:

> We ask that the system of discipline be materially altered, and that the Executive Committee of the Brotherhood, sitting as a court, shall be allowed to examine all minor cases of discipline and determine, if practicable, the nature and extent of the penalties to be inflicted for violation of the prison rules or the rules of the Brotherhood. It is requested that court be held between the hours of three and four in the afternoon; that the sergeant-at-arms (an officer of the Brotherhood) be authorized to procure the attendance of the witnesses, and that a right of appeal from this court to the Warden's court be given—such appeals to be made by either the inmates whom it is proposed to discipline, or by one of the prison officers appointed by the warden to be present at the hearings. The suggestion is also made that the court may warn and caution the inmate or may suspend him from any or all of the privileges of the Brotherhood, and that while so suspended he shall cease to enjoy his grade privileges, and shall wear on his arm a "bull's eye" the color of his grade disk.

To this Mr. Osborne replied that he was fully in sympathy with the suggestion, and that he would carry the idea further and allow the Brotherhood to decide *all* breaches of discipline, with appeal, where the justice of a decision was disputed, to the Warden's court —which is composed of the Warden himself, the principal keeper, and the prison physician. The roar of delighted applause that greeted this announcement was an augury for the successful operation of the new order. Incidentally I saw an old man in prison garb standing in the rear of the chapel move behind a pillar to hide his tears from his cheering companions. Even so short a time ago as a year the suggestion on the part of the convicts of Sing Sing that they be allowed to try one another for infraction of the prison rules would have been regarded as an impudent ebullition of humor.

One of the suggestions made by the Brotherhood, entirely of its own initiative, moved the new Warden considerably. It was that the beds in the dormitory—the former chapel, where the overflow from the cells is accommodated, and the most comfortable place in the prison to sleep—be assigned first to those inmates who are suffering from heart trouble or epilepsy, or who are crippled. "I am greatly pleased," Mr. Osborne told the men, "to have this evidence of concern for the general welfare. The places in the dormitory should, of course, be given to those who suffer most from the bad conditions of the cell block. I will have a list made of those who should be changed at once."

Of the suggestions for changes in the prison rules Mr. Osborne immediately approved all but two, and in these instances he merely held matters in abeyance. One of these was the removal of the screens in the visitors' room. At present a visitor to a prisoner is compelled to sit some four feet away from him, with two thicknesses of coarse wire grating between them, so that there is no possibility of their coming into personal contact. This practice is said to have been introduced after a convict had killed his wife, who had come to pay him a visit in Sing Sing. The new Warden told the men that personally he did not consider the screen a necessity, but that it was so old established an institution that he did not feel like abolishing it without further consideration. The other request that he told the men he would think over was with regard to their having the Sunday newspapers in their cells. One reason for not granting this request at once was that to deliver the bulky New York Sunday editions to fifteen hundred men would necessitate a great deal of additional Sunday work for the keepers. The request that the prisoners be allowed to see visitors on Sundays and holidays, which had not up to that time been permitted because of the inconvenience it worked to the keepers, was granted by Mr. Osborne, however, with the comment that he fully realized that many of the friends of the inmates of Sing Sing were unable to leave their work on week-days without suffering pecuniary loss. Up to the first Sunday of the month there were many restrictions upon the writing and receiving of letters, and upon the receiving of the small amounts of money prisoners are allowed to expend for tobacco and other such luxuries, which restrictions the Brotherhood asked to have removed. The Warden granted these requests, with the observation that most of the restrictions ought never to have been made. Another rule that Mr. Osborne declared should never have been promulgated, and which he promptly abolished at the request of the men, prevented their receiving sweaters and shoes from friends or relatives outside of the prison. "As gray is the fashionable color here," he said, referring to the prison uniform, "ask your friends to send you gray sweaters, however. As to shoes—the more you get from outside, the less expense the State will be under." The Warden also, at the request of the men, allowed them to change the time for the weekly moving-picture show and entertainment from Saturday to Sunday afternoon, in order that they might have an extra hour out of their cells on the day of rest. He further promised them an exhaust fan in the mattress shop, where they complained that the floating lint and dust produced bad sanitary conditions.

Thus in an hour on that Sunday afternoon three weeks ago the new Warden made life in Sing Sing immeasurably better worth living for the hundreds of men within the walls and for many hundreds more to come. The heartiness of the applause of his audience as one after another of their requests was granted was sufficient evidence of unqualified appreciation of his brotherly efforts on their behalf. They even cheered enthusiastically when he gave his reasons for reserving his decision with regard to the screen and the Sunday newspapers. No speaker ever had an audience under more complete control than had Mr. Osborne this aggregation of criminals at Sing Sing. They responded to his every mood, which was continually changing from seriousness to humor, from admonition to appeal. If he began to speak before laughter or applause he might previously have evoked had subsided, a warning "s-s-s-h!" rose at once from every part of the chapel, followed by immediate silence and eager attention.

There is one outcome of Mr. Osborne's self-inflicted term in Auburn Prison which he did not anticipate when he began the ordeal; that is, he has won the respect as well as the affection of his prison-going friends—as he terms them in and out of their presence. Through the interchange of prisoners between Auburn and Sing Sing all the inmates of both institutions have come to know that he never shirked his prison tasks; that he did not—as one of them expressed it—"sneak up to the warden's table" for even one meal during his week's incarceration; and that during that period he actually lived their life with all its hardships and privations. The fact that he did two weeks' work with one of the prison highway gangs last July, laboring at road-making eight hours a day under the blazing sun—also something of an ordeal for a man of middle age unaccustomed to manual labor—and sleeping and eating in the convict camp, has not lost him anything in the estimation of the men in the State prisons. Further, these men have acquitted Mr. Osborne on the charge they first brought against him, that of being a reformer (in which they in their blindness see the last refuge of an unsuccessful politician), all unaware that he has already brought about greater reforms in our prison system than any other one man.

Mr. Osborne's interest in the prison problem did not begin with his determination to find out by personal experience how prisoners live. As long ago as 1906 he suggested this plank for the Democratic State platform: "A more enlightened system of justice which shall include the administration of both county jails and State prisons; a system which shall aim at reform rather than punishment; which shall encourage those unfortunate fellow-men who have broken the laws to learn to adapt themselves to the proper conditions of organized society." As a director of the George Junior Republic, which was successful in its training of wild and mischievous boys, he had been first brought into touch with the prison system, and he afterward became interested in the Elmira Reformatory and paid visits there when Mr. Brockway was superintendent. "Quite by chance," Mr. Osborne says, "I became acquainted with a certain prisoner in Sing Sing, and, through him, became interested in other prisoners there and in Auburn. In due time I began to appreciate the importance of the general prison problem and the difficulties of its solution."

The new Warden of Sing Sing finds fault with the law in that it not only proceeds upon the theory of revenge, but that it attempts also to make a nicely graduated system by which the exact amount of guilt in the offender must be weighed and determined, and the exact and proper amount of revenge administered—for so much crime, so much punishment. "A very few moments of serious consideration," he says, "will show us that in doing this the law undertakes an impossibility, and an impossibility which tends to bring the whole system into disfavor if not contempt. It is absolutely impossible for any human being—for any number of human beings—to weigh and determine the guilt of each criminal by the mere facts of his crime. It is still more impossible to gauge the amount of criminality in this one as compared with that one; these are things which transcend the powers of humanity; they rest with God alone."

"Who can determine the exact amount of responsibility which each one of us carries?" asks Mr. Osborne. "Who can estimate the inheritance, the early training, the effect of environment, the influence of others, the results of unforeseen circumstances, in order to find the exact amount of real blame deserved by the perpetrators of each and every crime and the relative amount of punishment it would be fair to give to each? So, as this is manifestly impossible, the law practically ignores the whole psychological problem, and confines itself almost entirely to the crudest possible set of facts in each case. But it so happens that the crude facts are the least important and the psychological facts are the most important in determining the real guilt of the criminal."

To illustrate this point, Mr. Osborne cites the cases of two noted criminals of fiction—Bill Sikes and Don José. "The very souls of these men, the brutal burglar in Dickens's 'Oliver Twist' and the young soldier in Mérimée's 'Carmen'—best known through Bizet's wonderful music—have been laid bare for us by the genius of these authors," he says. "The one, a hardened ruffian, the product of the streets, brought up as a burglar, has murdered his mistress in cold blood because he learns that she has revealed some of the wickedness of him and his gang. The other, a rather weak young fellow of good impulses and good training, who has been entrapped and his career ruined by a heartless woman, has killed her in a moment of wild passion. What possible affinity is there between these two cases? It is true that they have both committed murder in the first degree, but what then? If you should set Bill Sikes free, he would return at once to his old life of theft and murder; he would continue a criminal, for he knows no better. If you should liberate José, he would go back to his mother's cottage, his mad passion for Carmen all burned out, and soon he would be married to his old flame, the good girl Machaela, and settled down to a useful, law-abiding farmer's life. To place two such men in one and the same category, to deem them guilty of the same crime, is to shut our eyes to all the facts of human nature, while to mete out to them the same punishment is to be ridiculous as well as inhuman. Yet under the present theory of the law such things are inevitable. Nor are they the worst. One man, a habitual criminal, prepared to commit murder if need be, is caught at burglary and, after a few years' imprisonment, returns to prey again upon society, while another, inflamed with unaccustomed drink and passion, or overcome with the effects of some baleful drug, fires a pistol for the first and only time in his life, and is sentenced to life imprisonment."

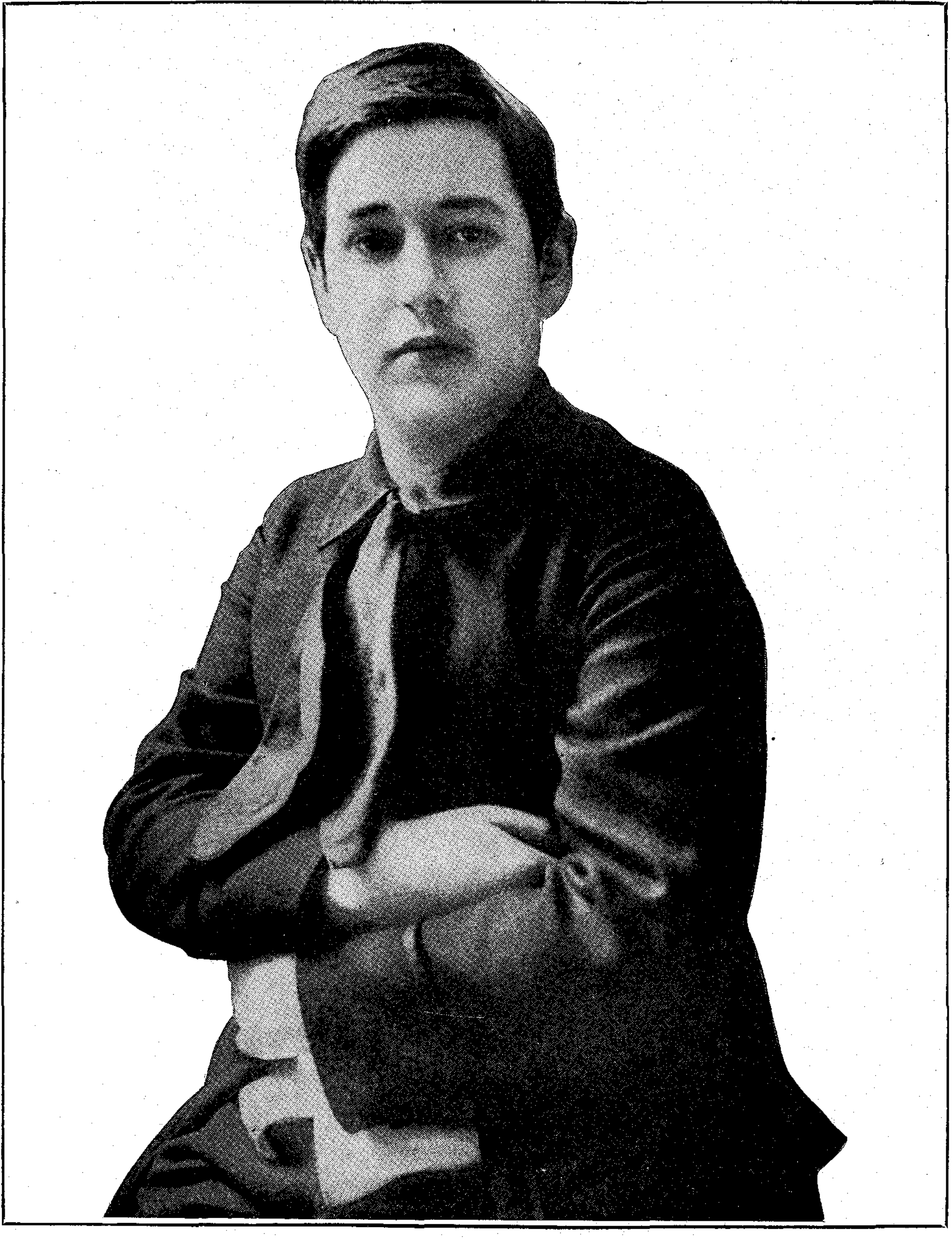
Mr. Osborne will work for the abolishment of Sing Sing and for the erection of a new prison on a farm as near Ossining as possible, so that the prisoners may be put to work on the buildings. He told the Golden Rule Brotherhood during his first talk with its members that he would take great pleasure in lighting the fuse that would dynamite the cell block at Sing Sing. The new Warden believes that convicts should receive sufficient pay for their work in prison to support their families outside, instead of the pitiful one and a half cents per day that is now their wage. "Every man in prison feels that the balance is on the wrong side," he says; "and it is. Let us admit that the State has a right to exile him; but has it a right to deprive him of his earning power or of his right of speech, or to lock him in a stone cell seven feet long, six and one-half feet high, and three feet and four inches wide, where dampness reeks from the walls, and where he is almost certain to suffer disease? My cell at Auburn was palatial compared with the cells at Sing Sing, for it was six inches longer and six inches higher. The cells at Sing Sing are not fit to keep pigs in. There are twelve hundred cells and fifteen hundred prisoners. The place is so damp that it sends a chill to your bones, the food has been execrable, and the labor—well, what is to be expected? Slave labor is always inefficient. Any one who thinks that slavery is abolished need only look at Sing Sing. What is slavery but being forced to work under inhuman conditions and without pay?

"Discard the old idea that there is a criminal type," says Mr. Osborne. "The old theory of Lombroso that certain characteristics and traits denoted the criminal has been exploded by actual tests in England. Convicts do not differ physically from their fellow-men, and from my personal experience they do not differ in other respects either. There are no mental or moral criminals. I find the same characteristics inside and outside a prison."

The foundation of our prison system, Mr. Osborne believes, should rest on these three principles: First, the law must decree, not punishment, but temporary exile from society until the offender has proved by his conduct that he is fit to return; second, society must brand no man as a criminal, but aim solely to reform the mental conditions under which a criminal act has been committed; third, the prison must be an institution in which every inmate shall have the largest practicable amount of individual freedom, because "it is liberty alone that fits men for liberty."

While the new Warden of Sing Sing is a sympathetic man, he is not a sentimentalist. He uses the "big, big D" on occasions where unusual emphasis may be necessary. He is a fine type of physical manhood; and, while his countenance is of an ascetic cast, the mouth is humorous. He smiles frequently during his conversations with his wards, but when the smile freezes on his face he does not need to frown to let the other man know that he has made a mistake. Mr. Osborne is fortunate in having as his deputy and colleague Charles H. Johnson, one of the leading social workers of the State, who has for over a decade been superintendent of orphan asylums, and is thoroughly trained in the details of institutional management.

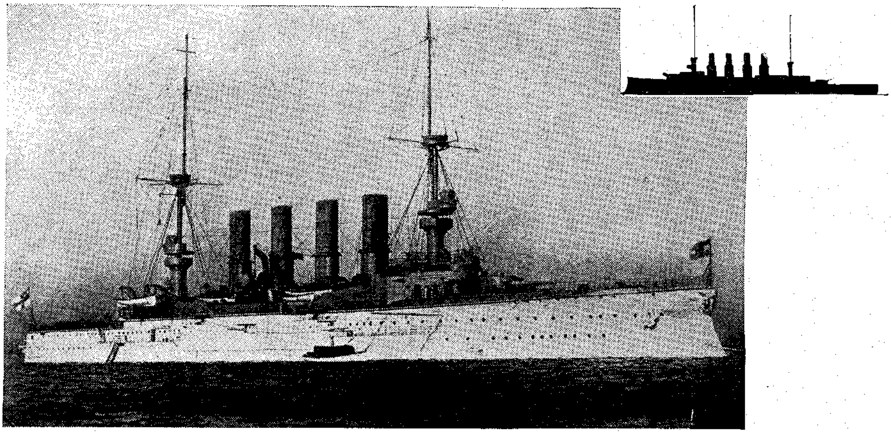
# Current Events Pictorially Treated



ERICH KORNGOLD

A NEW AUSTRIAN COMPOSER

Korngold's "Sinfonietta," which is his fifth numbered work, was performed on December 10 and 11 in New York—a beautiful and very significant orchestral composition. The photograph reproduced above (and lent to The Outlook by the courtesy of Mr. Cesar Saerchinger, of New York) was taken a few years ago when his earliest compositions first aroused wonder and admiration and some criticism in the city where he lives, Vienna. He is now only seventeen years old



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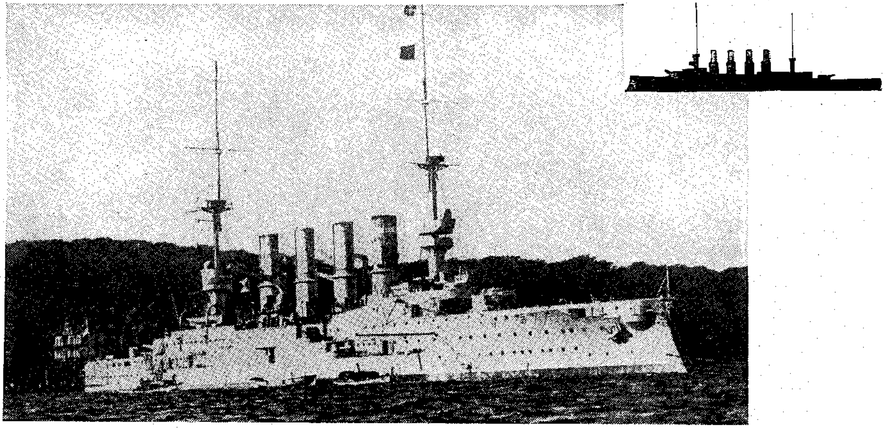
THE SCHARNHORST



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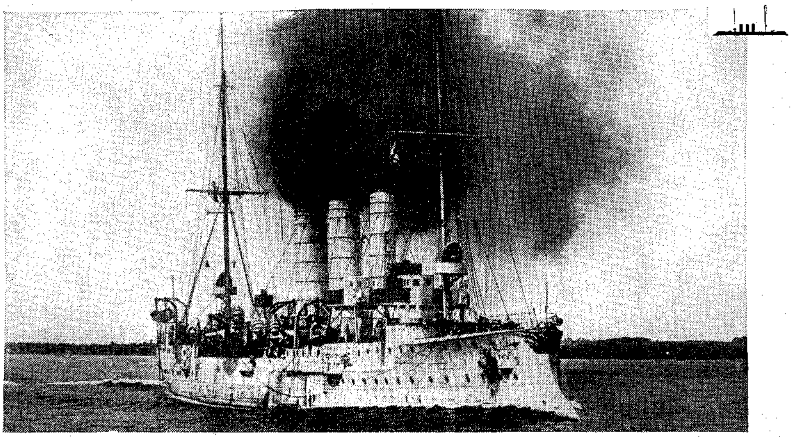
THE GNEISENAU



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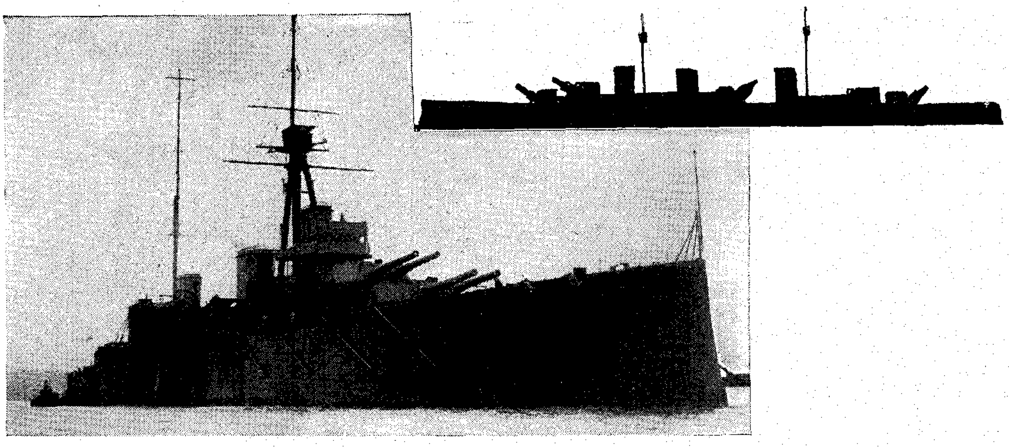
THE LEIPZIG

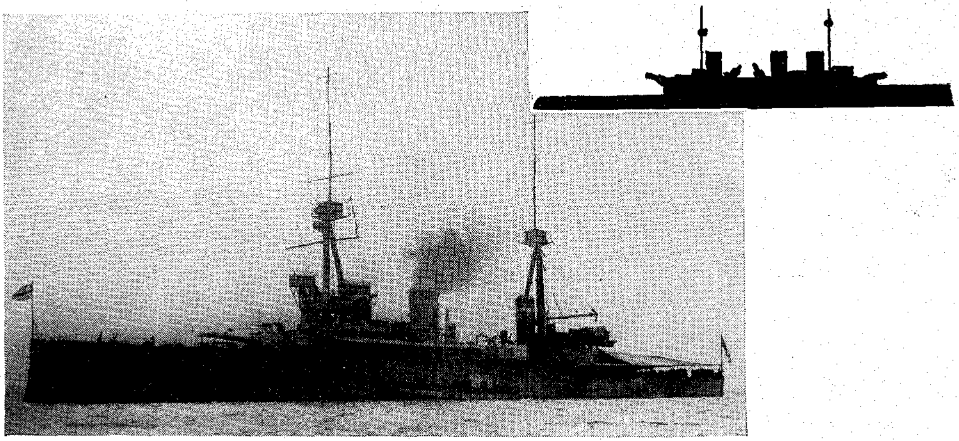
## GERMAN SHIPS THAT WERE SUNK IN THE SOUTH ATLANTIC

The German vessels that went down in the greatest naval engagement of the war, so far, were unequally matched against
ago, when they combined and defeated in battle the British vessels Good Hope, Monmouth, and Glasgow off the Chilean
then combined and drove the German vessels through the Magellan Straits into the Atlantic, where they were met by
vessels of the Allies participated, or their names, but taking into consideration the high speed and light armament of the Ger-
Falkland Islands. Silhouettes at the right of each picture show by their length approximately, not relative size or appearance,
**11,600 tons each; the Leipzig, 3,250 tons; the Invincible, 18,750 tons; the Indefatigable, 18,750 tons; the Lion (one of the finest**



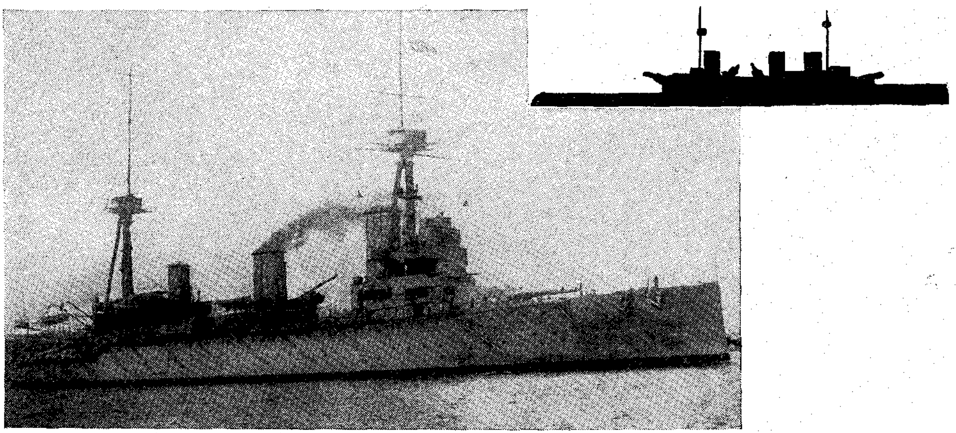
PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

THE LION



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

THE INVINCIBLE



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

THE INDEFATIGABLE

## AND SOME OF THE SHIPS OF THE VICTORIOUS BRITISH FLEET

the enemy. These German vessels roamed as free lances in the Pacific along South American shores until about a month
coast. This battle gave the Japanese, Australian, Canadian, and English vessels a clue as to their whereabouts. The Allies
another allied force which gave battle, in which the Germans were finally crushed. At present we do not know how many
man vessels it is evident that swift-going British vessels such as those shown above took a leading part in the sea fight off the
but the relative tonnage of the ships, which in figures is as follows: The Scharnhorst and the Gneisenau (sister ships),
ships in the British navy), 27,000 tons. The armaments of the British ships, likewise, entirely outclassed those of the Germans

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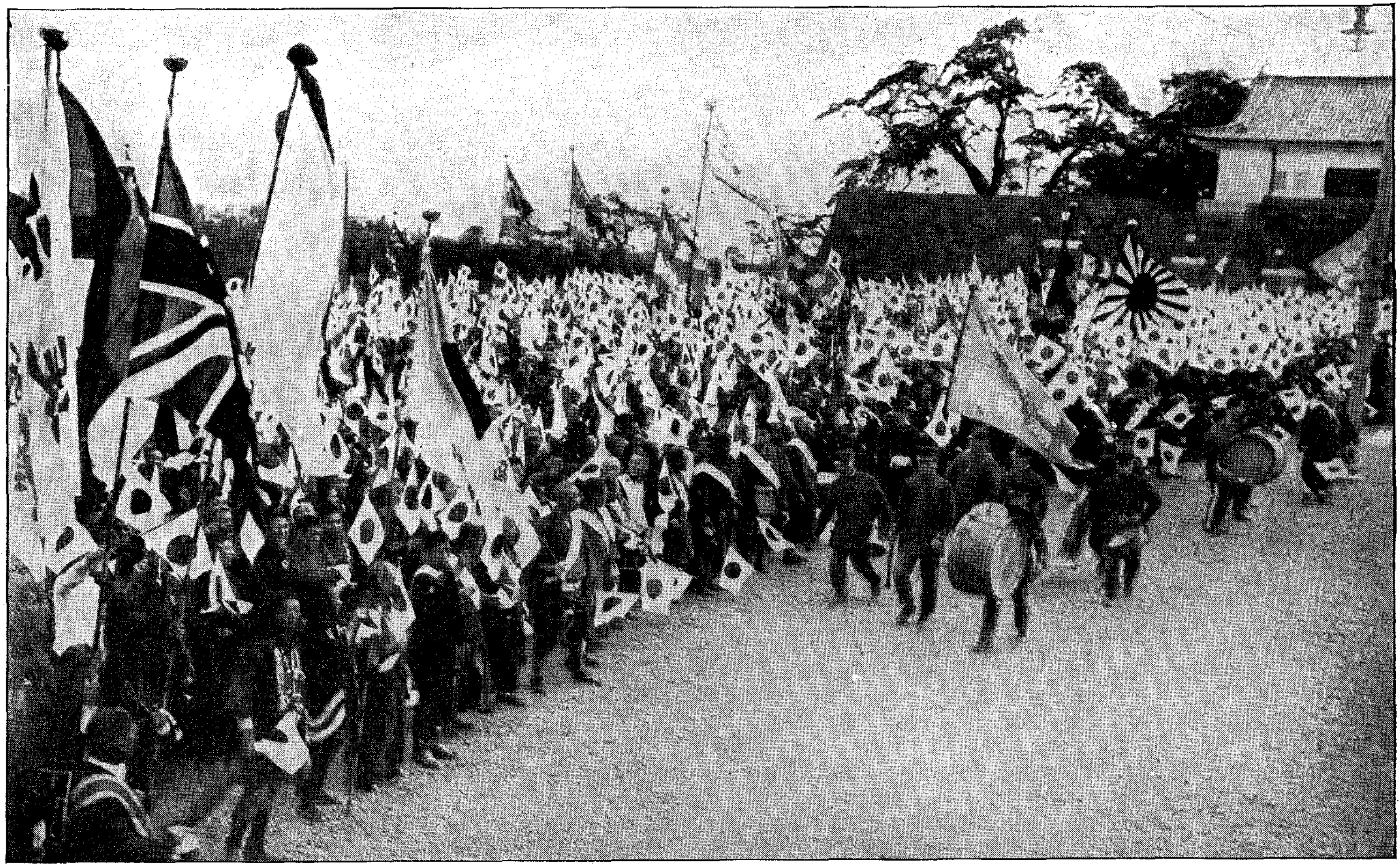
ADMIRAL STURDEE

Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Charles Doveton Sturdee, who won the decisive battle in the South Atlantic, is 55 years of age. He entered the British navy in 1871 and attained his present rank in 1908, after a career of distinguished service in all the undertakings to which he has been assigned

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

ADMIRAL VON SPEE

Vice-Admiral Count von Spee, who lost his life in the fight in which his vessels were destroyed, was 54 years old. He was born in Copenhagen, and joined the German navy in 1878. He became Vice-Admiral last year. His most distinguished exploit was the recent defeat of a British squadron in the Pacific



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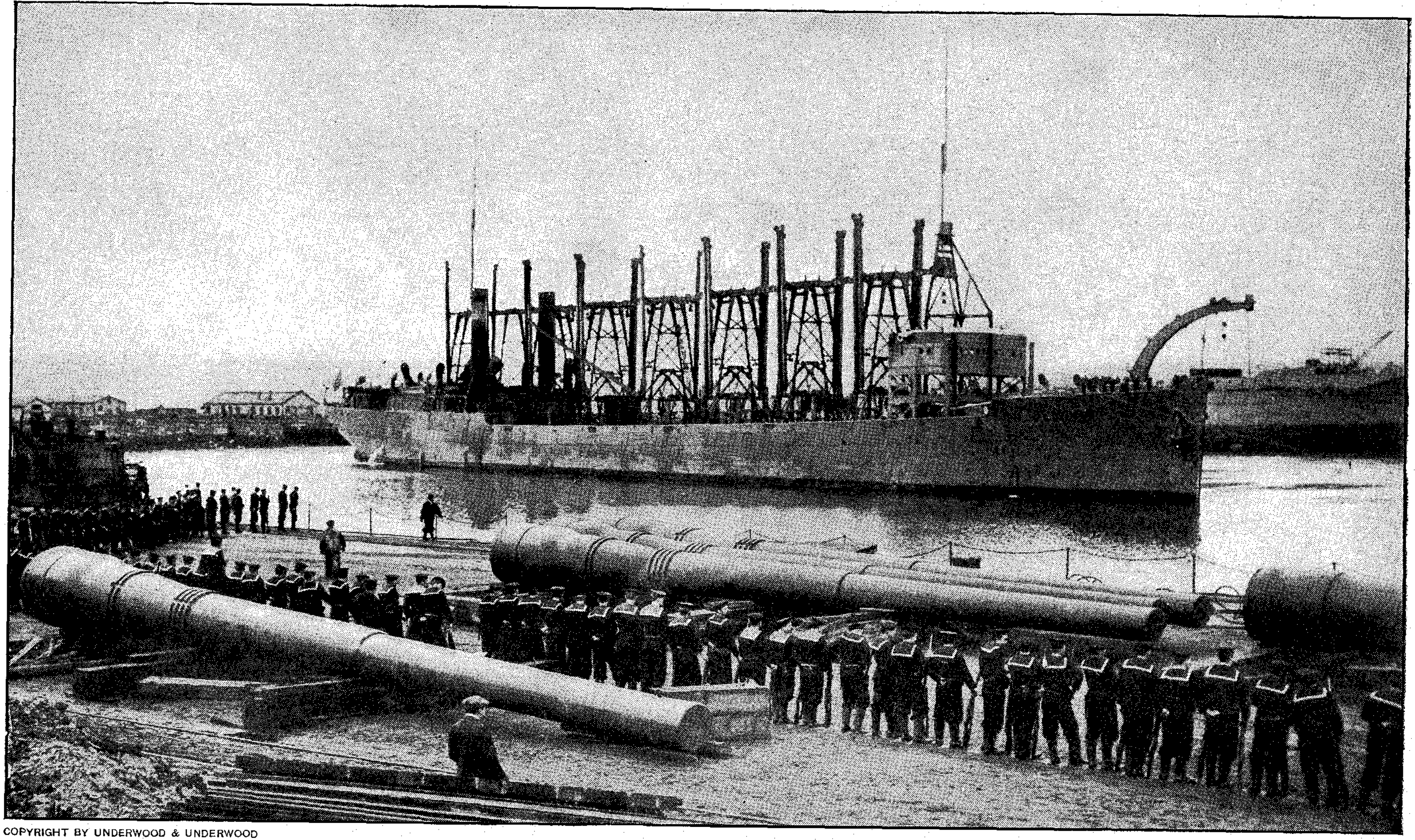
THE JAPANESE CELEBRATE THE FALL OF TSINGTAU IN THE STREETS OF TOKYO

Whether or not the Japanese have conducted a "platonic" war against Germany (see the article by Miss E. R. Scidmore in this issue), they celebrated their victory over the Germans with much éclat in their capital city. This victory, following their defeat of Russia in 1905, gives the Japanese the prestige of defeating two of the foremost military powers of the world



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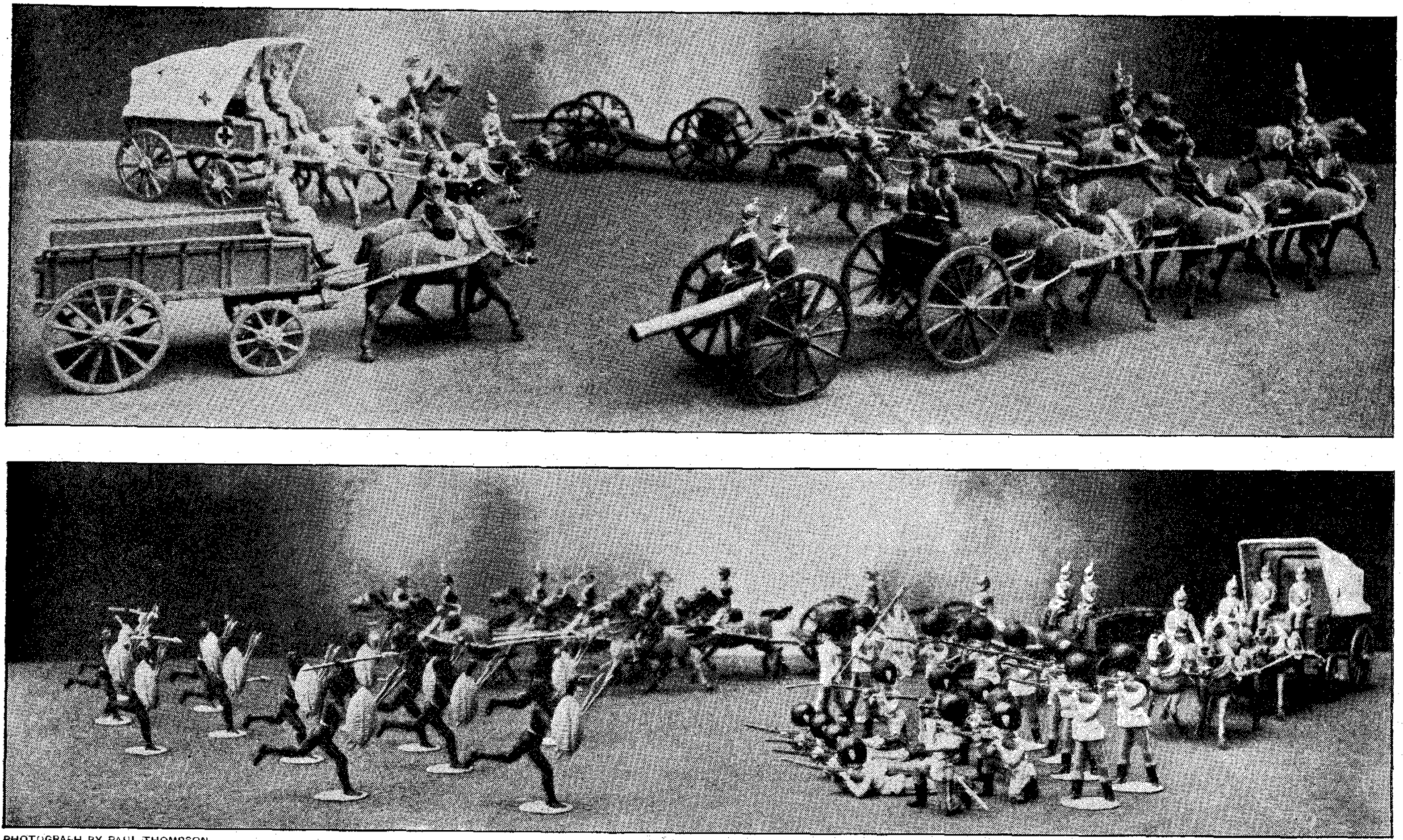
THE CHRISTMAS SHIP JASON ARRIVING IN ENGLAND

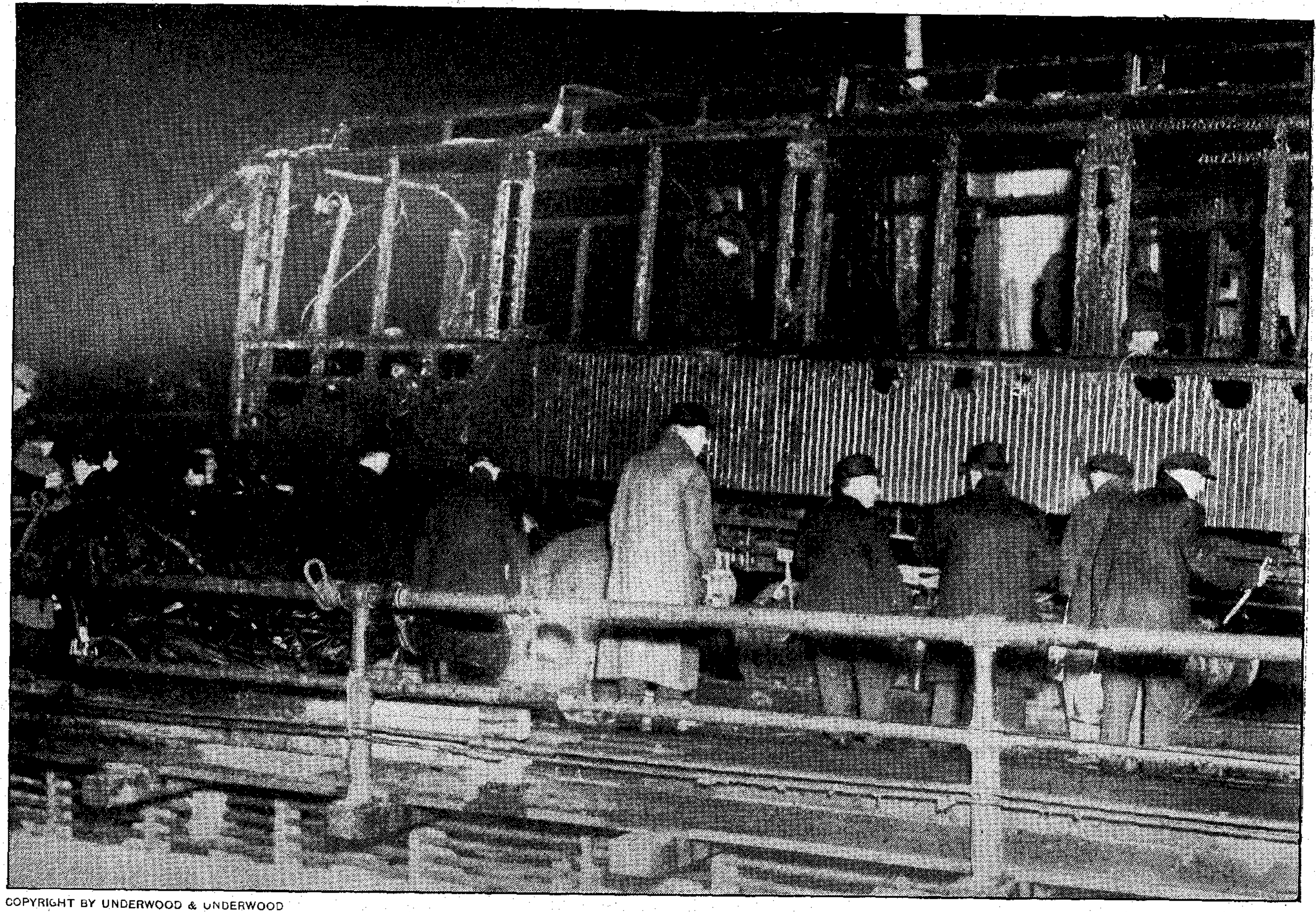
The good ship Jason, a converted collier, as may be seen from her peculiar upper works, sailed from America laden with toys, clothing, gifts of all kinds, and Christmas greetings for the children of the countries afflicted by war. Her cargo will bring happiness to many little ones who would otherwise have passed a joyless Christmas



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

SANTA CLAUS TRIES HIS HAND AT WAR

The deep interest in the war which is absorbing the thoughts of the British people at this time is illustrated by the popularity of such toys as these "made in England"



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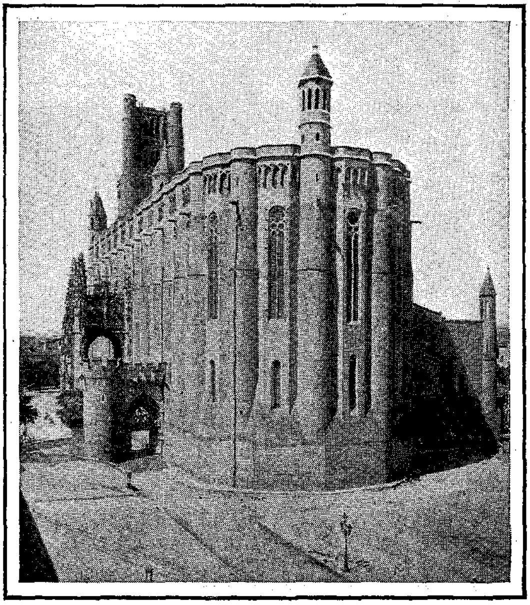
THE RESULT OF RUNNING CARS BY THE "HIT OR MISS" SYSTEM

These cars, *photographed after a recent accident on the* New York elevated road, were telescoped and burned in consequence of a system of signaling that is almost incredible in its stupidity. See editorial pages for detailed explanation and comment



"THE CATHEDRAL IS A STUPENDOUS MASS OF BRICK"

# A FORTRESS-CATHEDRAL OF SOUTHERN FRANCE

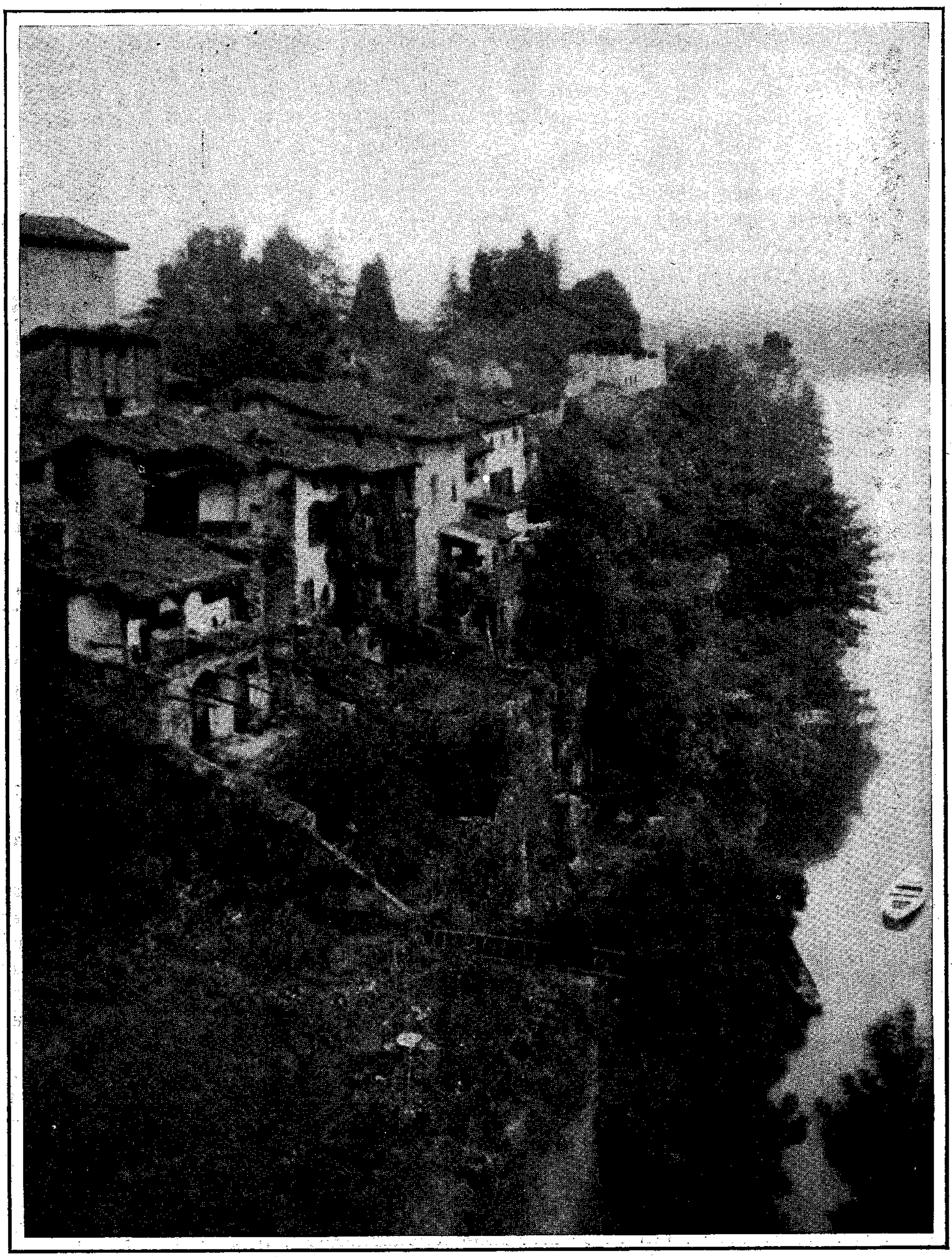
## BY HENRY HOYT MOORE

WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR

A STERN, military-looking man seemed out of place at the table-d'hôte, amid wine-sellers, drummers for Bordeaux jobbers, and other commercial men. We agreed that, if not an anachronism in this age, he was certainly without reason-for-being in this peaceful little town in southern France. For this was two months before the war, and Albi looked as if it had never had even a nightmare about marching armies and the noise of guns. Little did we imagine that a few weeks after our visit the commercial men would be transformed into soldiers and would be marching away to the front, perhaps under the lead of the very man who seemed so superfluous when we sat opposite him at dinner at the Grand Hôtel de la Poste.

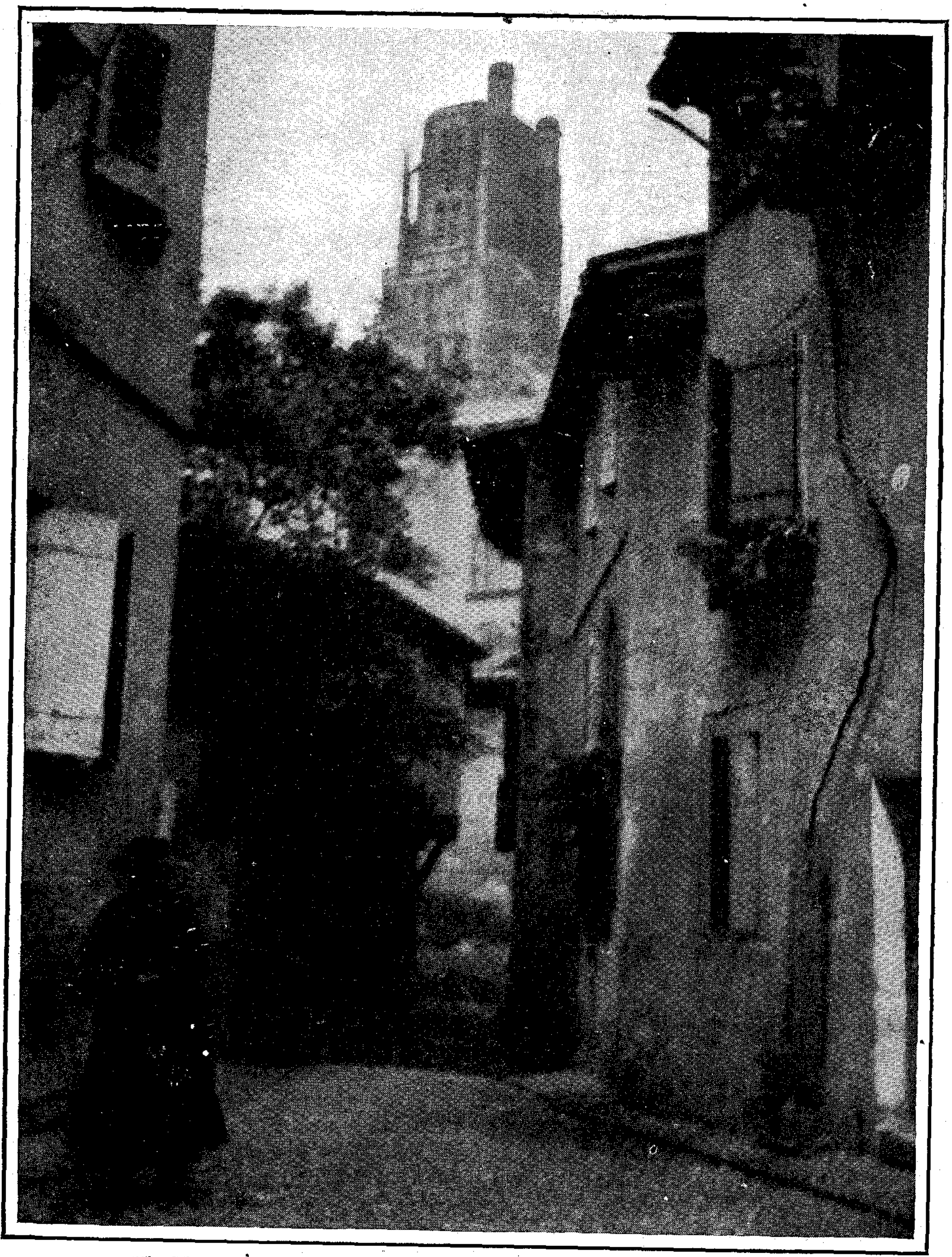
But Albi, sleepy little town that it was last May, is not without its history of war and rumors of war. For did not the fact that it contained a fortress-cathedral first interest us in this peaceful village on the river Tarn? "One of the few fortress-churches of France," we read, "and one of the finest examples of Southern Gothic." So we said that we would run over on the afternoon train from Toulouse, see the Cathedral, come back the same evening, and take the late train for Carcassonne—which is another and quite different tale.

Albi, be it observed, is not on the main-traveled road. One must study the time-table carefully to find one's way there, or, better, counsel with the hotel porter as to trains. For must not one change at Tessonières, and are not the trains from that quiet little hamlet somewhat infrequent? Then, too, the branch road from Tessonières is old-fashioned as to its cars, and one gets into one of them to find a representative of the French commercial class engaged in eating a late lunch with the perfect *sang-froid* and indifference to surroundings that characterize the native traveler in the independent land of France. He is ready, however, to answer the questions which after a suitable interval are put to him, and shows himself familiar with the neighborhood, and, what is more, proud of



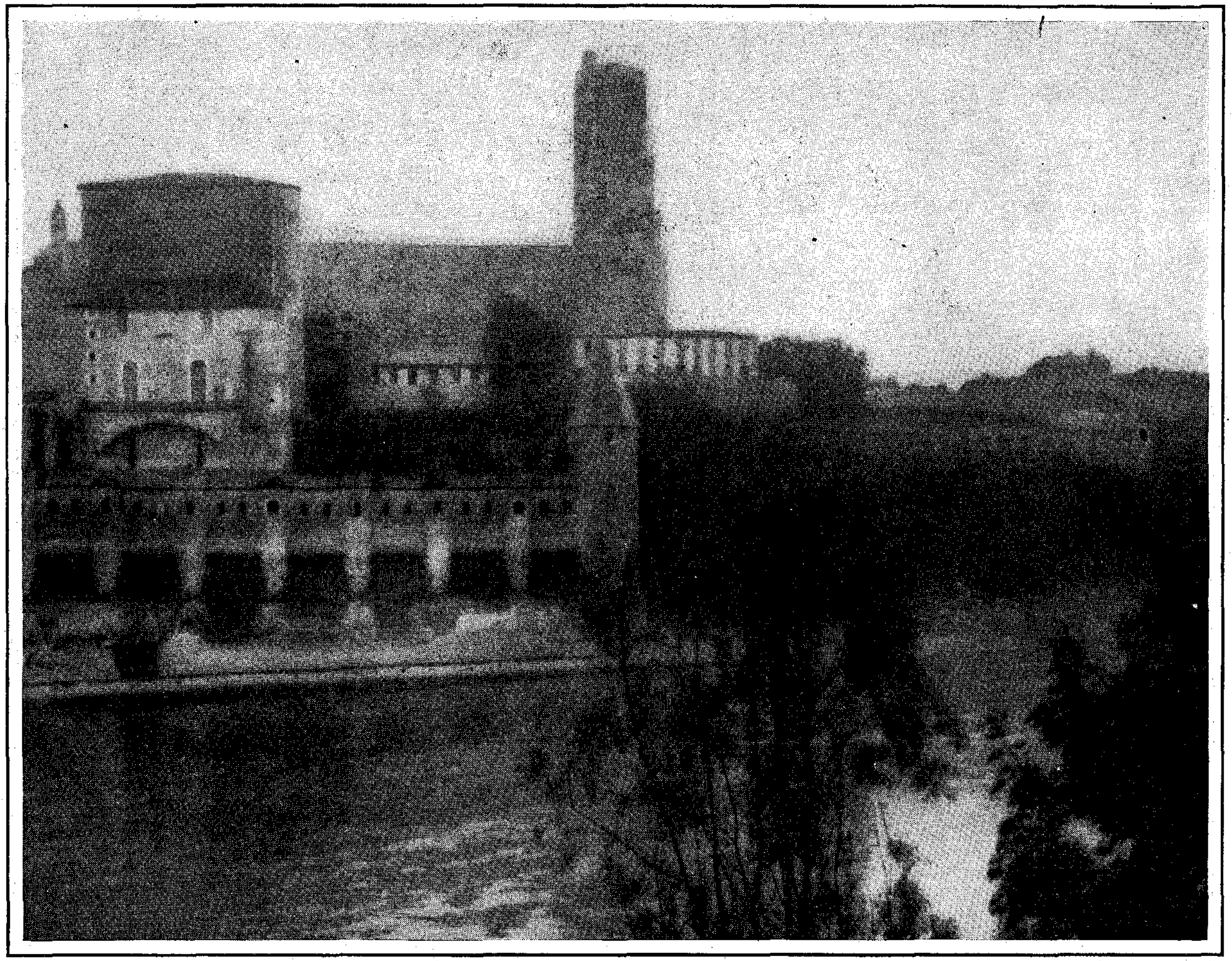
ON THE BANKS OF THE TARN

The houses rise on terraces high above the river. Ladders enable the householders to reach the boats below

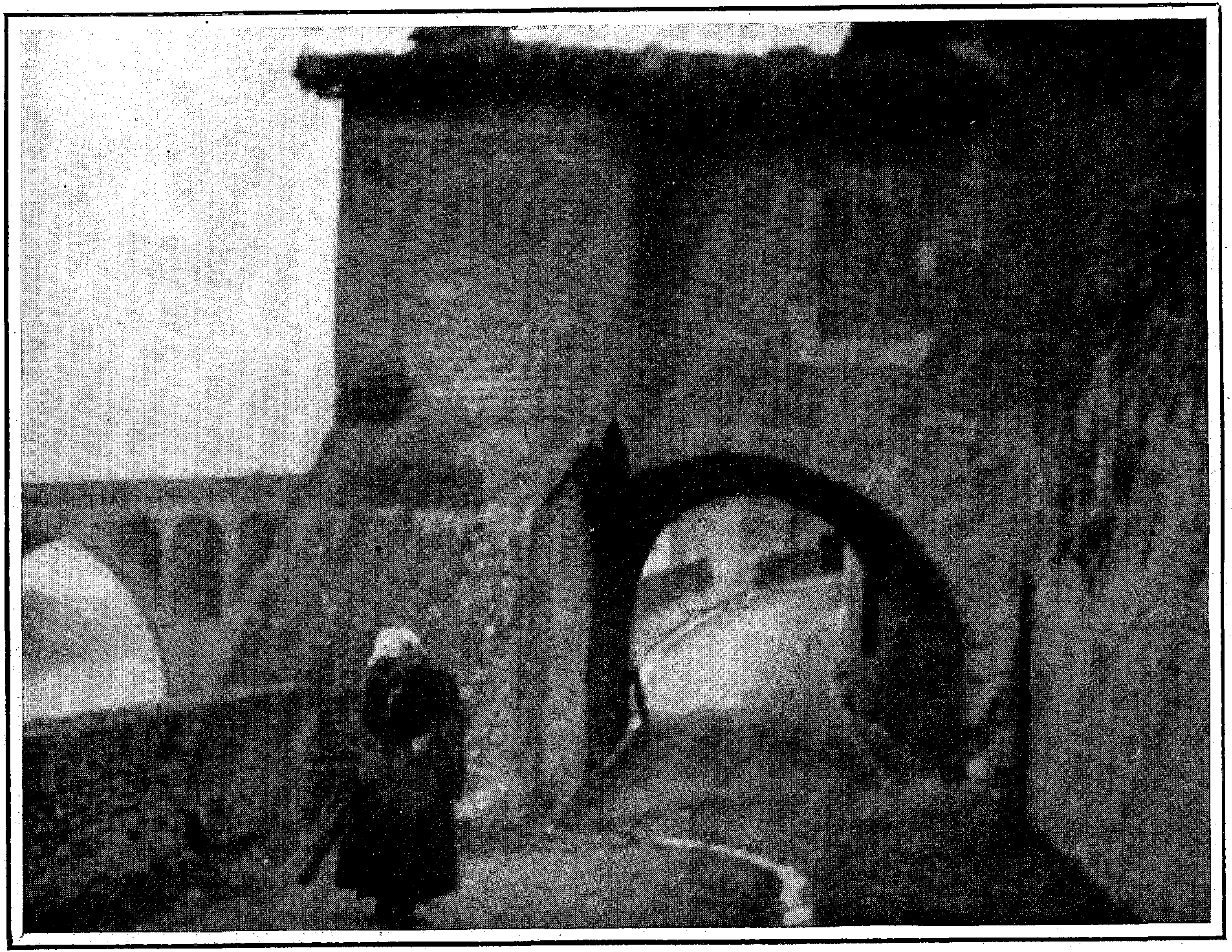


ST. CECILIA'S TOWER SEEN FROM ONE OF ALBI'S WINDING STREETS

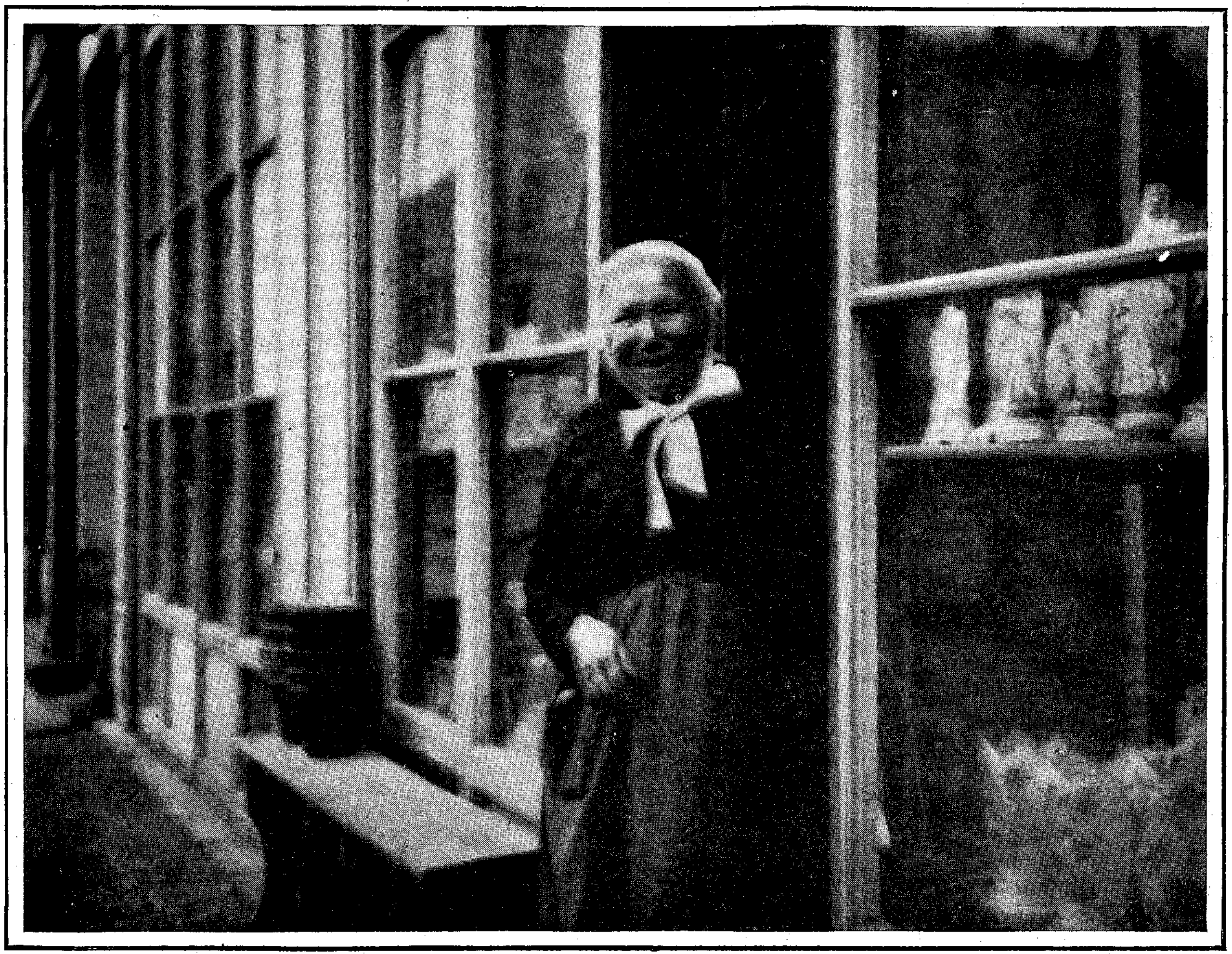
The Albigensians love flowers, and window-boxes and roof gardens may be seen in many parts of the old town



THE CATHEDRAL SEEN FROM THE NORTH BANK OF THE TARN, WITH A DEFENSIVE WORK IN THE FOREGROUND



THE RIVER ROAD, LEADING TO ONE OF ALBI'S ANCIENT BRIDGES CONNECTING THE TOWN WITH ITS SUBURB OF LA MADELEINE



AN ALBIGENSIAN SHOPKEEPER, A CHARACTERISTIC TYPE, SHREWD, THRIFTY, AND AMIABLE

Albi and its cathedral. What New York commercial traveler, we asked ourselves, would answer questions about, say, the Cathedral of St. John the Divine with as much intelligence or enthusiasm as did this Frenchman about scenes familiar to him?

When, after an hour's journey, we came in sight of Albi, our friend motioned to us to look across the river. "*La Cathédral!*" he exclaimed with pride. We gazed on a huge mass of brick, topped with a single, somewhat austere tower, and reserved our decision as to the position of Albi's Cathedral on our list of fine churches.

We did not, however, make any reservations as to the picturesqueness of the town's situation. High above the river, with numerous remains of defensive works and with several fine old bridges, the town immediately impresses one as an age-old, worth-while place. The prevailing tone of color is a dull red, for Cathedral, forts, bridges, and houses are of brick. Dull skies this afternoon tone the color into a softness of hue that is most pleasing.

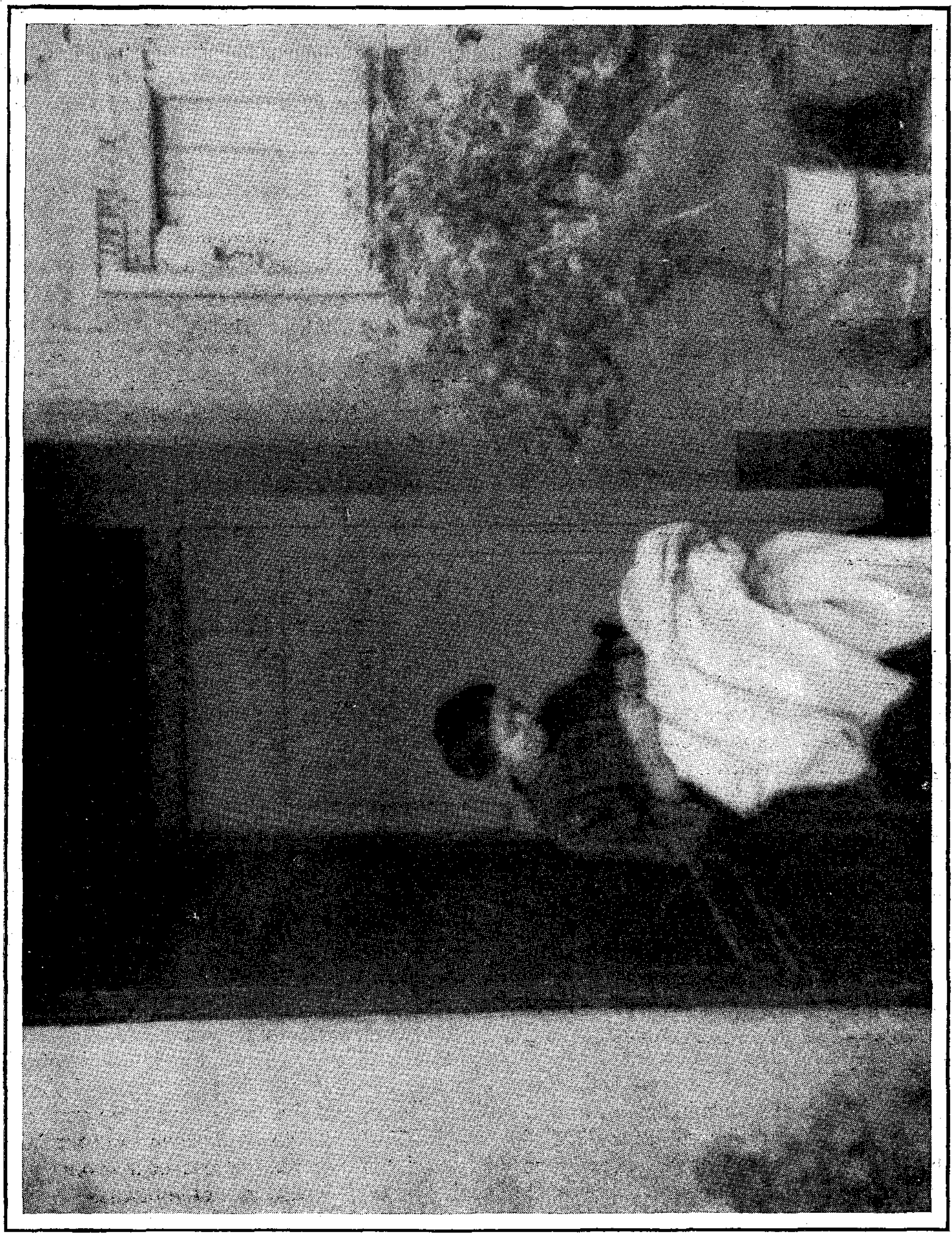
After reaching the little station and bidding our commercial friend adieu, we go at once to the Cathedral, for have we not planned to leave on the only returning train that afternoon? But the way to the big church proves altogether alluring, with quaint, twisting streets, timbered houses, and interesting doorways. Before we arrive at the Cathedral we succumb to Albi's charm and forget our afternoon train back to Toulouse.

We approach the great church from its rear, and a stupendous mass of brick it seems, with walls running up a hundred and thirty feet, surmounted by small turrets. Narrow windows pierce the lower part, with loopholes here and there. The massive, bastion-like buttressed walls indicate the purpose of the Cathedral to serve as a place of defense if necessity arose. The religious wars in which the Albigenses, or natives of Albi, were engaged in the Middle Ages, though they were mostly over by the time this Cathedral of Saint Cecilia was built, naturally suggested the idea of a church stronghold, and on several occasions the Cathedral has heard the tramp of armed men within its massive walls. It could, of course, no more than the Cathedral of Rheims withstand the assault of modern artillery, but in the time when it was built it was indeed, in Luther's phrase, a "castle strong of our God."

Now it was the abode of perfect peace. An itinerant shoemaker had set up his shop in a wagon at the rear of the building, and a merry song came from his partly open door. At the side of the church a splendid stone porch, elaborately sculptured, constituted the main entrance. Within, the vast proportions of the edifice, built without nave or aisles, were modified by a magnificent rood screen which separated the church into two parts, one for the people, the other reserved for the use of the clergy.

After inspecting the wonderful carving of this screen, seeing some of the many fine statues of saints and apostles, and marveling at the semi-Byzantine effect of the decoration, we descended rapidly from the sublime and began a search for the inevitable postcards which were to tell our friends of our "find." The search was rewarded with unexpected diversion. The custodian of the cards, a capable woman of the type that is usually selected for such a job by the wise fathers, was surprised to find that her visitors were from the far-off land of America. Her surprise was outdone by that of some of the town's idlers, who gathered near and gazed open-mouthed at the visitors from the New World. To one who is accustomed to the sophisticated natives of many foreign cities, this attitude of the Albigenses was most gratifying. It was evident, too, in the aspect of the children whom one met. Their attitude toward the visitors was that of respectful wonderment. One of the tourists dropped a glove while standing in the street. A little Albigensian picked it up and stood gravely holding it, like a precious memento, till the loser turned and saw the small boy waiting for attention. The glove was restored without the slightest appeal for a reward, but simply as an act of courtesy from one gentleman to another. So, also, when the tourists inquired for a certain street of a group of school-boys who passed. One of these boys was instantly deputed to go with the strangers and show them the way. Does the reader wonder that after this Albi was immediately double-starred in the visitors' note-book?

After a long stay in and about the Cathedral came the search for a stopping-place for the night, with some incidental shopping—for the tourists had come empty-handed. Was it not a pleasure to be waited upon by the proprietress of the little dry-goods store, with every sign of interest in the unexpected customers! How different, we thought, her



"A PLEASANT-FACED WOMAN WHO WAS SEWING IN HER DOORWAY INVITED US TO COME IN" attitude was from that of some attendants in some stores not far from Broadway. And then the hotel! Madame, our landlady, was greatly interested in her guests, and manifestly pleased that Albi's attractions had brought the tourists to her house to stay overnight. And the rooms! Large red tiles, instead of rugs or carpets, decorated the floors, and the quaint old furniture waits for some covetous connoisseur—and long may it wait.

The next morning a visit to the great Archevêché, or archbishop's house, adjoining the cathedral, was in order. Through vast rooms and halls in this great ecclesiastical fortress of the thirteenth century we went, through gloomy dungeons that had held unhappy prisoners during the Revolution, through wine cellars that testified to the good taste in such matters of the early occupants of the place—and then to the quiet, tree-shaded cloisters that overlooked the river and furnished an ideal place for meditative exercise. Here indeed was a retreat for souls that wished to renounce the world.

But we did not wish to renounce it, and so we drifted back to the world as it was represented in Albi's delightful market. On the way a curious thatch-like sign over an old house was noted, and a passer-by was asked as to its significance. There, he said, dwelt a dealer in wine, and that was his trade symbol. It was, of course, as we might have known, the traditional "bush" of the wine merchant; and its presence proved that the proverb, "Good wine needs no bush," was not accepted in this land of good wine and buyers and sellers thereof.

Why is it that the food in French markets looks so much more attractive than that in our own? Perhaps it is because the French are fastidious in matters of cookery, and will not accept the things that our housewives are willing to pay for. At any rate, the strawberries and cherries of Albi were altogether too tempting for the visitors to resist, and the generous measures of each which were handed over for a few sous were disposed of then and there, amid the sellers of fruit, cheese, vegetables, and notions of a decidedly French flavor, and all seemingly delectable. And the polite venders of these good things did not even smile at the eagerness of the appreciative tourists.

Are the French people naturally kindly and courteous to all, or have they an especially warm corner in their hearts for Americans? We had gone down to the river to see the women washing clothes on its banks, after the old fashion, and when we were returning to the heights a sudden shower overtook us. While we were standing undecided whether to seek shelter or to brave the downpour, a pleasant-faced little woman who was sewing in her doorway invited us to come in out of the unpleasantness. We gladly complied, and soon she was telling us her little history. She had been a Swiss girl, and still longed for her native mountains; but she had married an Albigensian, a good man, and here for many years her home had been on the heights above the river. Was there much rain here? was a natural question. Oh, yes, was the answer, and in the winter there was snow. Last winter, especially, the snow was piled high on the streets of Albi, and the Tarn was frozen. Would we like to see her little house? Of course we should! The fine old hall clock was a wedding present; so was that curious chest of drawers; but the big stove came to her only last year, and it was a treasure, for it had kept them warm through the bitter winter. Everything in the dear little house was spotlessly neat and clean, and the visit offered a charming glimpse into the home life that makes the French the least given to emigration of any modern race. And why should any one ever want to leave the delightful town of Albi for a necessarily less delightful abode? At least one person, who visited the old home of the Albigenses by chance, remarked to another, "Don't you think you could persuade your company to transfer their business from New York to Albi—for I want to stay there the rest of my life!"

AN ALBI ANGLER

A COVEY OF MASSACHUSETTS QUAIL FED UNDER THE AUTHOR'S DIRECTION AND SAVED DURING A WINTER WHEN NEARLY ALL THE QUAIL IN THE STATE DIED FROM STARVATION

# FEEDING WILD BIRDS BY SIMPLE METHODS[1]

## BY ERNEST HAROLD BAYNES

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR

ELSEWHERE I have shown how to feed the winter birds by means of food-houses, window-boxes, food trolleys, food trees, and other devices. Each of these is attractive and has its own peculiar advantages; but if for any reason we cannot have any of these things, we can get along very well without them. And, though it may mean a little harder work on our part, the birds will probably be just as well satisfied.

We may begin by putting out some suet for the insectivorous birds. I believe in having rather large pieces, weighing, say, about a pound apiece, at a few principal points, and a number of smaller pieces scattered more widely, in order to attract the attention of as many birds as possible and guide them to the larger lumps. If our final object is to attract the birds to the house, or to some point near it, let us first select the side of the house to which we wish to bring them. If we try to attract them to all sides, we can probably do it, but shall not have as many in any one place. Usually people like to have them come to points where they can be seen from the principal living-rooms. Suppose, then, that we decide on this plan. Let us look out of the window and see if we can find a tree, say, seventy-five or a hundred feet away to which we can tie one of our large lumps of suet. Let us suppose that we see such a tree, and that there is a well-exposed branch from eight to twelve feet from the ground. We fix that branch in our minds, and, suet in hand, we go out to the tree. Perhaps we can easily climb to the branch; but, if not, we can get a ladder. We should have three or four pieces of soft string of convenient length, and with one of these tie the suet at just the place and in just the position we want it. It is well to have it either on top of the branch or on the side of it; if it is fastened underneath, certain birds which like suet would find it hard to get. If it is fastened on the side of the branch, of course it should be on the side nearer the house where it can be seen. The other pieces of string should now be crisscrossed back and forth, and should bite into the suet a little at each turn, so that it may be left snug and tight. The object of having several strings is to prevent a squirrel from detaching the suet by simply cutting one string with his teeth. The loose ends of the string may now be cut off and the feeding station is complete.

Next let us go to a tree, say, from ten to twenty feet from the window, and there we will tie a second piece of suet at a point a little higher than the window itself. A third piece we will tie either to the window-sill or to a stick or a board which may be fastened to the window-sill. Those three we will call our main suet stations. Smaller pieces of suet we will tie in trees and shrubs out in all directions from the house and farther away from it. These distant ones will probably be visited first, and as the birds gain confidence they should approach nearer and nearer until they come to the window itself.

To encourage those who may think it a difficult matter to gain the confidence of our feathered neighbors, I give the following list of twenty-one kinds of birds which have come to feed at windows in the village of Meriden, New Hampshire, where we have been feeding for the past three years. Those marked with a star have visited our own window:

*Hairy woodpecker, *downy woodpecker, *ruby-throated humming-bird, *blue jay, *pine grosbeak, *purple finch, *white-winged crossbill, *redpoll, *pine siskin, vesper sparrow, white-crowned sparrow, white-throated sparrow, tree sparrow, chipping sparrow, junco, song sparrow, *myrtle warbler, *winter wren, *white-breasted nuthatch, red-breasted nuthatch, *chickadee, *Hudsonian chickadee. This is probably the largest list for any one town or village.

The red-bellied woodpecker, snow bunting, fox sparrow, brown creeper, and hermit thrush have also been known to feed at the windows of houses, but they have never done so in Meriden, though we have them all here with the exception of the woodpecker.

If it becomes necessary to put out more suet during the intensely cold weather, we shall find it a good plan to bring some short

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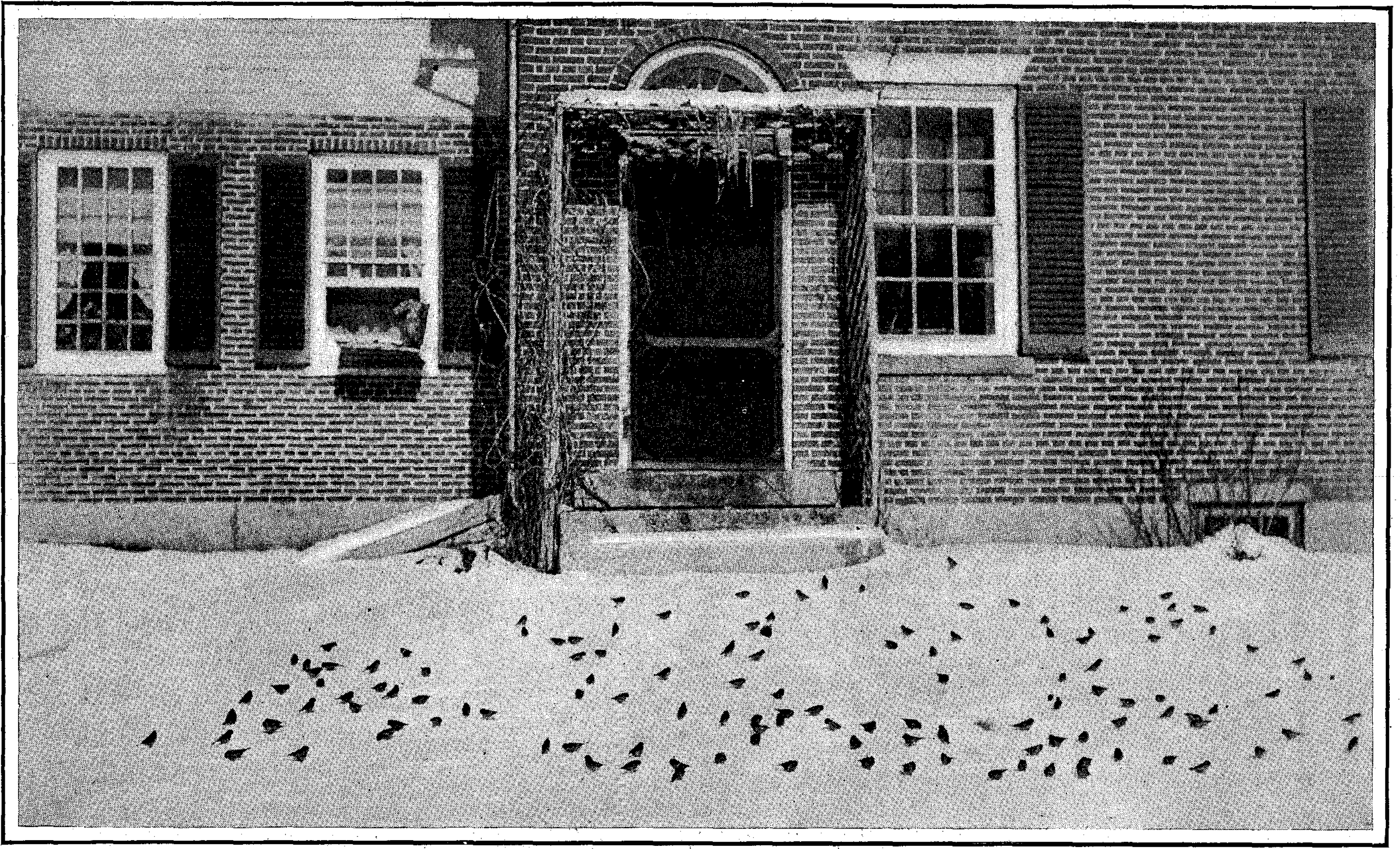
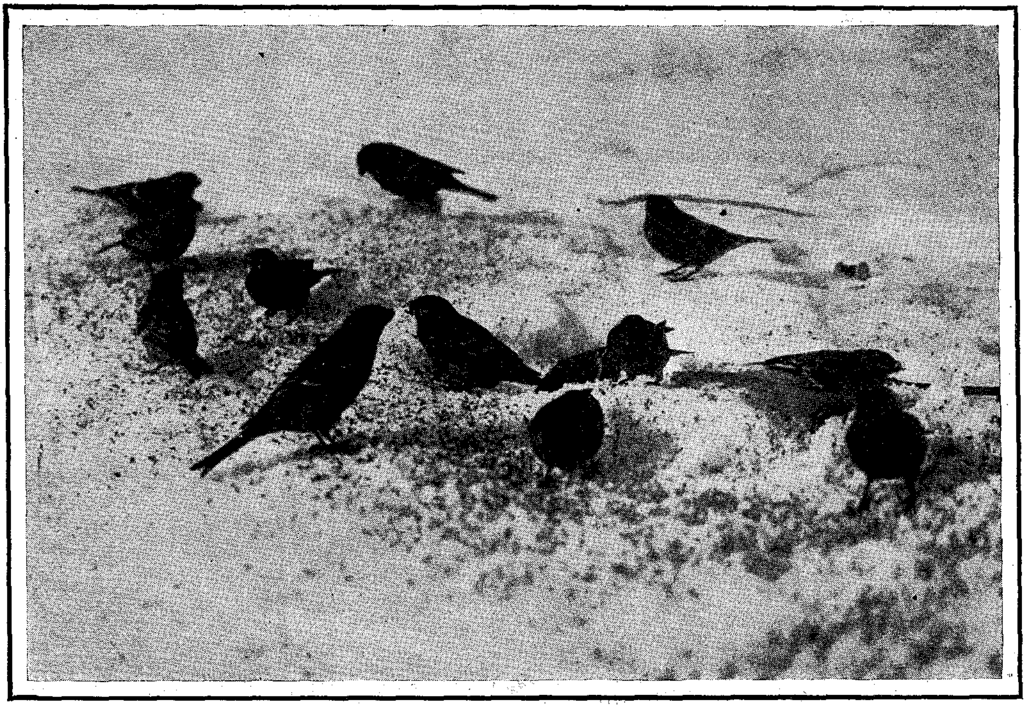
[1] This article will be included in "Bird Guests and How to Entertain Them," by Ernest Harold Baynes, to be published shortly by E. P. Dutton & Co.



A DOORWAY IN WINTER (MERIDEN, NEW HAMPSHIRE)

One hundred and thirty-three redpolls and pine siskins feeding on hemp seeds

MRS. BAYNES ENTERTAINING PINE GROSBEAKS AND A CHICKADEE



PINE GROSBEAKS IN A MERIDEN GARDEN

branches into the house, and tie on the suet there in comfort. Then, if we drive a couple of wire nails part way through each branch, we can carry it out and quickly nail to any tree we like.

If we wish to go to just a little more expense, we can make suet-pockets of half-inch wire netting and staple them to the trunks of trees instead of tying the suet itself to the branches.

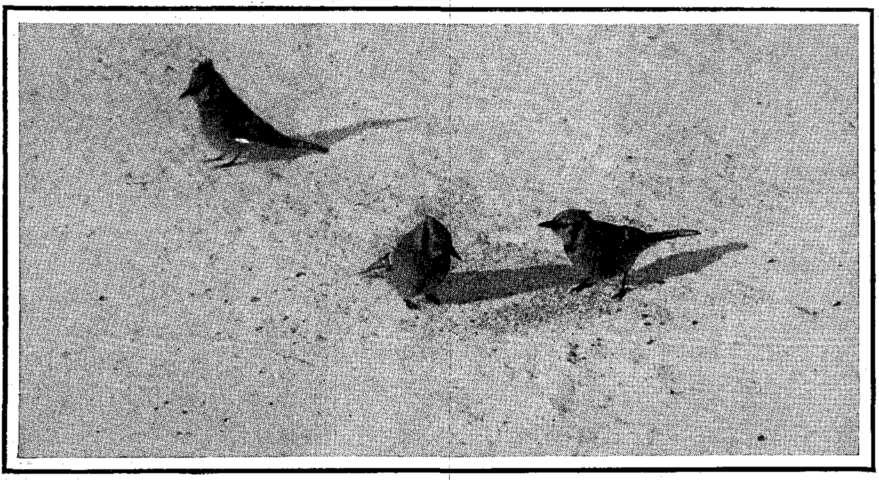
The simplest way to feed the seed-eating birds is to scatter the food on the ground. If there is soft, deep snow, the food should not be thrown upon it. Seed and most other foods quickly sink into soft snow, and, besides, most birds do not like to flounder about in the snow-drifts in order to get a bite to eat. The snow may be swept or shoveled away, but personally I much prefer to trample it down. It is not easy, even with a snow-shovel, to clear thoroughly a generous space where there is long grass or weeds; besides, cleared spaces are apt to become wet or muddy and are usually unsightly. The trampling process is quicker, much quicker, if we have snow-shoes; it makes no unsightly patches, and, moreover, the well-trodden snow forms the most pleasing background against which to see our feathered guests.

It is best to put out a day's supply of fresh food each morning; the birds learn to connect our appearance with the coming of good things for them, and gradually lose their fear of us. Moreover, by putting out comparatively small quantities of food we avoid the danger of unnecessary waste when snow-storms come and cover up whatever is on the ground. If there is danger from cats, we should select for our feeding station a space well out in the open; for if there are shrubs or other tall plants about, the cats will be able to creep up within leaping distance before the birds are aware of their presence.

This much we can do without any appliances, and at no expense beyond the cost of the food.

The following are some of the best foods and the birds which have been known to eat them:

*Suet.* Screech owl, hairy woodpecker, downy woodpecker, red-bellied woodpecker, flicker, blue jay, crow, Clark's nutcracker, starling, tree sparrow, junco, rose breasted grosbeak, myrtle warbler, brown creeper, white-breasted nuthatch, red-breasted nuthatch, chickadee, Hudsonian chickadee, hermit thrush.



BLUE JAYS TAKING THEIR FOOD FROM THE WELL-TRAMPLED SNOW IN THE AUTHOR'S GARDEN

*Fat pork.* Hairy woodpecker, downy woodpecker, blue jay, crow, white-breasted nuthatch, tufted titmouse, chickadee.

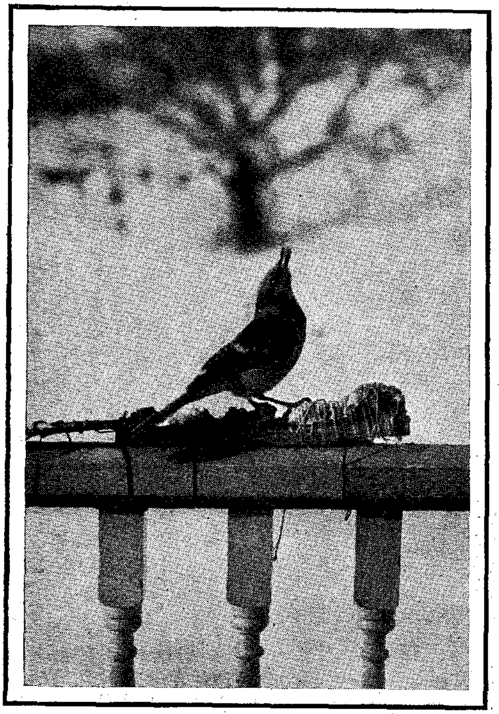
*Raw meat.* Screech owl, hairy woodpecker, downy woodpecker, blue jay, white-breasted nuthatch, chickadee.

*Hemp seed.* Pine grosbeak, purple finch, redpoll, goldfinch, pine siskin, vesper sparrow, white-crowned sparrow, white-throated sparrow, junco, song sparrow, white-breasted nuthatch, chickadee.

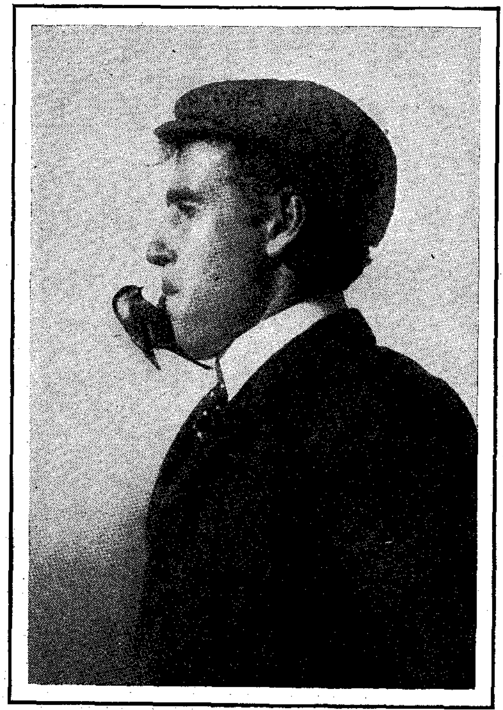
*Millet seed.* Purple finch, redpoll, goldfinch, pine siskin, vesper sparrow, white-throated sparrow, tree sparrow, chipping sparrow, junco, song sparrow, fox sparrow.

*Cracked corn.* Shore lark, blue jay, crow, snow bunting, lapland longspur, tree sparrow, junco, cardinal grosbeak, white-breasted nuthatch.

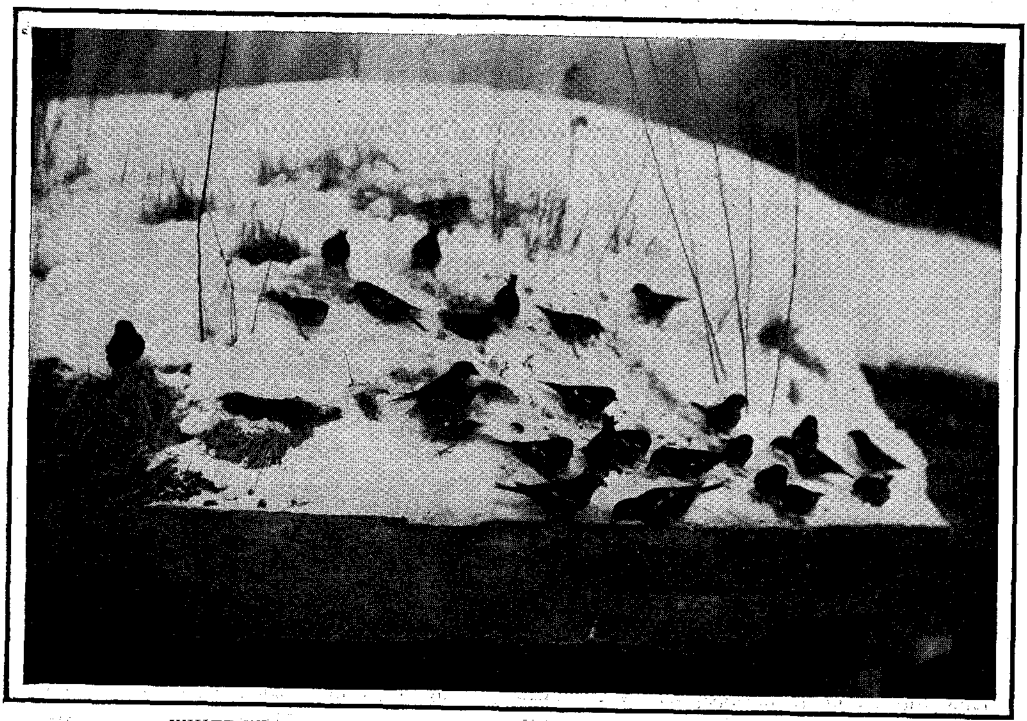
*Bread crumbs.* Blue jay, crow, tree sparrow,



A BLUE JAY EATING SUET AT THE AUTHOR'S HOME



THE AUTHOR WITH A CHICKADEE FRIEND



WHITE-WINGED CROSSBILLS FEEDING IN THE AUTHOR'S GARDEN white-crowned sparrow, junco, cardinal grosbeak, mocking-bird, brown creeper, chickadee.

*Broken nuts.* Blue jay, white-crowned sparrow, junco, cardinal grosbeak, white-breasted nuthatch, red-breasted nuthatch, tufted titmouse, chickadee.

*Dog biscuit crumbs.* Blue jay, snow bunting, tree sparrow, junco, white-breasted nuthatch, chickadee.

*Sunflower seeds.* Blue jay, purple finch, goldfinch, white-breasted nuthatch, chickadee.

*Chaff.* Quail, shore lark, Lapland longspur, snow bunting, tree sparrow.

*Oats.* Quail, ruffed grouse, yellow-headed blackbird, snow bunting, chickadee.

*Whole corn.* Blue jay, crow, white-breasted nuthatch, chickadee.

*Canary seed.* Goldfinch, vesper sparrow, junco, song sparrow.

*Doughnut crumbs.* Blue jay, crow, white-breasted nuthatch, chickadee.

*Wheat.* Quail, ruffed grouse.

*Broken squash seed.* White-breasted nuthatch, chickadee.

*Salt, salt water, and mud impregnated with salt.* White-winged crossbill, American crossbill.

The author is very well aware that the above lists are not complete, either with regard to the kinds of food which the winter birds will eat or with regard to the kinds of birds which will eat the foods which are mentioned. These lists can be made complete only as a result of the careful experiments of many observers working for a considerable period over a wide territory. At present they are as complete as can be made from records compiled by Gilbert H. Trafton, by the author himself, and by other members of the Meriden Bird Club. They will enable the reader to make a fair start, and he can then experiment for himself as much as time and inclination will permit.

To those who will have a little patience some of the most delightful experiences will come from having birds so fearless that they will alight on the hand or shoulder or permit one to pick them up. To those who have had no experience in feeding wild birds, and who are inclined to doubt that such experiences will ever come to them, I will say that it is simply a matter of being very quiet and gentle with your feathered guests, of being patient with them, and of using a little thought and ingenuity. At least eleven species of our winter birds have been known to feed from the hand. They are: Canada jay, Oregon jay, evening grosbeak, pine grosbeak, white-winged crossbill, redpoll, pine siskin, white-breasted nuthatch, red-breasted nuthatch, tufted titmouse, chickadee. Of these the writer has had five come to him for food. One severe winter when the pine grosbeaks came down from the north in great numbers, we fed hundreds of them in the gardens of Meriden, and not only the writer and Mrs. Baynes, but several other bird lovers, fed them as they sat on hand or shoulder. They were so tame that one could sit down in the middle of a flock and they would come into one's lap to feed. They would alight upon the heads of children watching them, and sometimes they allowed Mrs. Baynes to pick them up one in each hand. They seemed to prefer hemp seed to any other food we offered.

I have already spoken of the crossbills which one winter came to us in Meriden. A few—six or eight—had been coming most of the summer to the garden path. Two or three were American and the rest white-winged crossbills. They crept about, quiet as mice, eating something, but just what it was I could not tell until they had been here for some time. Then one day, after watching them at work for several minutes, I took a magnifying-glass and went down on my knees to see what there might be there to attract them. I found that they had been working on a patch of clay, the surface of which had been carved in every direction with their sharp bills. As there were no "chips," I knew that these must have been eaten, so I tasted the clay to see why they had eaten it. It was very salty, the result of scattering salt on the path to kill the weeds. A few days later my friend Frederic H. Kennard came to see me, and, observing the crossbills, ran into the house for some salt, of which he had often observed their fondness. The flock continued to grow until midwinter, when it numbered about a hundred and twenty-five. We went out to play with them for a while almost every day, and by and by they seemed to look for our coming. We would sit on the well-trampled snow we had prepared for their feeding-ground, and from the trees about us they would come down in a musical shower to alight upon our heads and shoulders and to feed from our hands. It was such fun that sometimes, even when the thermometer registered from ten to fifteen degrees below zero, we would sit there banding them, photographing them, or often simply watching them until we were almost too numb to get up.

# A NEGRO CITY IN NEW YORK

### BY E. F. DYCKOFF

IN one district in New York City a Negro population equal in numbers to the inhabitants of Dallas, Texas, or Springfield, Massachusetts, lives, works, and pursues its ideals almost as a separate entity from the great surrounding metropolis. Here Negro merchants ply their trade; Negro professional men follow their various vocations; their children are educated; the poor, sick, and orphan of the race are cared for; churches, newspapers, and banks flourish heedless of those, outside this Negro community, who resent its presence in a white city. The progress which the Negroes have made in their own district is indeed little understood by those who, fearing the encroachment of a Negro slum, have done their best to thwart the growth and the progress of New York Negroes in obtaining better housing and living conditions and opportunities for racial advancement for the responsible colored people of New York City. That this prejudice manifested by their white neighbors is largely unwarranted both on moral and economic grounds may be seen from a rehearsal of the facts.

If one stands at the corner of One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Street and Fifth Avenue, in four directions can be seen rows of apartments or flat houses all inhabited by Negroes. This is virtually the center of the community. The houses are in good repair; windows, entrances, halls, sidewalks, and streets are clean, and the houses comfortable and respectable inside to a degree not often found in a workingman's locality. The ground floor of the buildings in every case is occupied by a store or business office. Here and there one sees the name of some Nationally known firm whose agent, always a Negro, has opened a branch business among the people of his own race. From the juncture of One Hundred and Thirty-fifth Street and Fifth Avenue can be seen the business signs of Negroes and Negro firms whose holdings and interests reach an aggregate of four million dollars.

Philip A. Payton, a Negro and a wealthy real estate operator, may be rightly termed the father of this Negro community, since it was he who, despite violent opposition, first installed his people in tenement property in this section ten or twelve years ago. It was Payton's theory that living conditions equal to those available for the white man were what the Negro needed to give him the realization of white progress and white standards.

Payton first bought three tenements. At that time a wealthy syndicate of whites owned a near-by tract, known as Olympic Field, where athletic meets had been held for several years. The syndicate intended cutting the tract into building lots, and, thinking to improve their selling chances, bought the tenements controlled by Payton and evicted the Negroes. But Payton and another Negro, J. C. Thomas, thereupon bought three other tenements on the same block and evicted the whites. The result of this skirmish was merely an exchange of tenants. After a series of shrewd business dealings in which the syndicate was worsted, the Negroes were left in possession of the nucleus of their future community, and Payton's dream of progress among his people had begun to be realized. The Negro section proper now extends for ten blocks between Seventh and Park Avenues, with a generous fringe of colored tenants reaching out in all directions from the community center—evidence of quiet growth and expansion. In this community of tenements and apartments are about fifteen hundred private houses of very good grade. One prominent member of the settlement recently paid fifty thousand dollars for one of these. The most prosperous of the Negroes, however, do not all live in private houses, by any means, since the apartment-houses, as in similar white districts in New York City, offer equal advantages for good living.

Examples of Negroes who have attained success in this community may be found in Mr. George W. Harris, a Negro who worked his way through Harvard University and two years in the Harvard Law School. Mr. Harris is editor of "The News," a paper whose entire staff of twelve men are all colored. Among these twelve men are Fenton Johnson, a writer of verse and a recent graduate of the University of Chicago; the sporting editor, Leslie Pollard, who as a Dartmouth student was rated as a member of that somewhat nebulous organization the All-American Football Team; a clever cartoonist, E. C. Shefton; and a Washington correspondent in the person of Ralph W. Taylor, an auditor in the navy under both President Roosevelt and President Taft. The clerks, stenographers, and advertising solicitors of "The News" are also all Negroes.

In the professions this Negro community has some twenty physicians who received their medical training at various universities and colleges. Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania, Dartmouth, Howard, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Long Island Medical College, and the Flower Hospital School are all represented. One West Indian who is resident in the community was a student at Oxford.

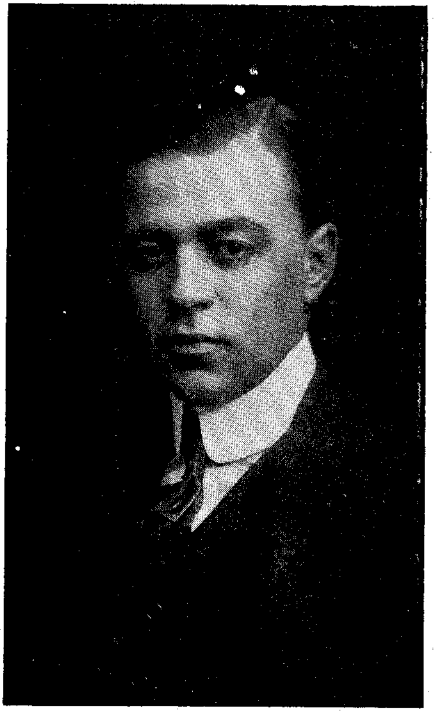
In the legal fraternity there are fifteen lawyers from Harvard, Yale, Syracuse, Columbia, the New York Law School, and Northwestern University. One of these men is a deputy Assistant District Attorney for New York County, and one is Assistant Corporation Counsel for the city of New York.

There are eight dentists from Howard and New York Dental Colleges, two architects from Cornell University, four registered pharmacists from Columbia and the New York College of Pharmacy who conduct large drug stores in the districts, and twenty-five registered trained nurses.

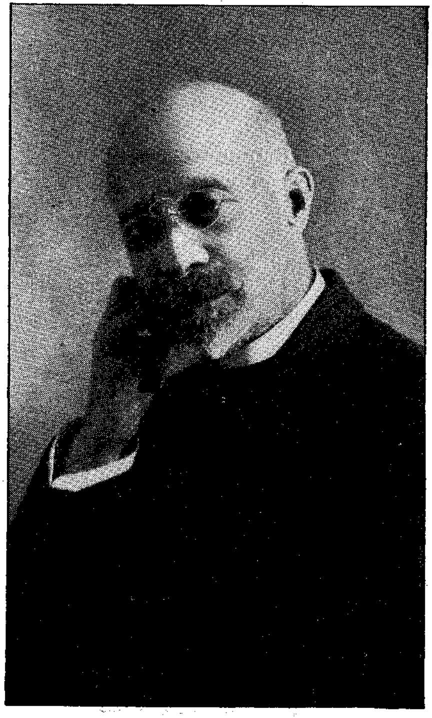
In the business world the community possesses Negro real estate firms which enjoy the confidence of some of the largest and most conservative financial institutions in the city. One of these, Nail & Parker, may be taken as an interesting example. This firm has full charge of the property holding of St. Philip's Church, which is valued at well over a million dollars. In addition to this they manage for individual owners some seventy-five to eighty separate parcels of real estate, and collect over thirty-five thousand dollars a month in rent. St. Philip's Church, built, by the way, from the plans of a Negro architect, was erected a few years ago at a cost in land and building of $255,000. It carries a mortgage now of only twenty-nine thousand dollars. In addition to this the church owns a block of ten apartment-houses valued at $620,000. These carried a mortgage of $393,000 in April, 1911, when they were acquired by the church; this has since been reduced to $311,000. From this and other property owned by the church is derived

J. ROSAMOND JOHNSON, DIRECTOR OF THE MUSIC SCHOOL SETTLEMENT

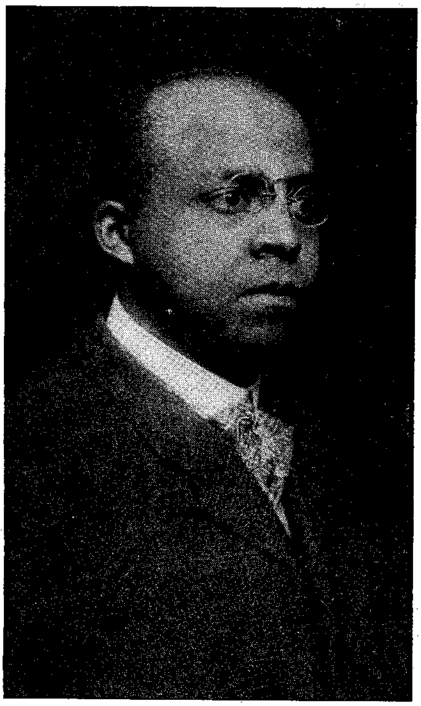
Mr. Johnson is a member of the New England Conservatory



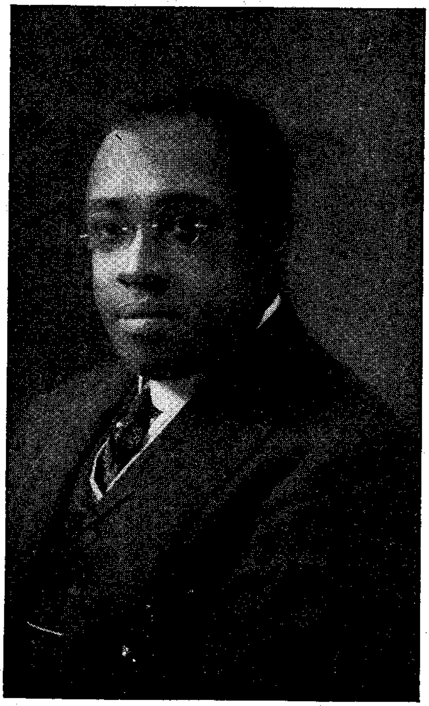
JOHN E. NAIL
Of the firm of Nail & Parker, which has charge of a property-holding valued at over a million dollars



THE REV. HUTCHENS C. BISHOP
Pastor of St. Philip's Church (see picture on page 953)



PHILIP A. PAYTON
"The father of this Negro community. . . . It was Payton's theory that living conditions equal to those available for the white man were what the Negro needed"



JAMES RIESE EUROPE
Composer of modern dance music and leader of a very successful Negro band; President of the Tempo Club, a musical society that occupies a handsome club house

LEADING CITIZENS OF "THE NEGRO CITY"

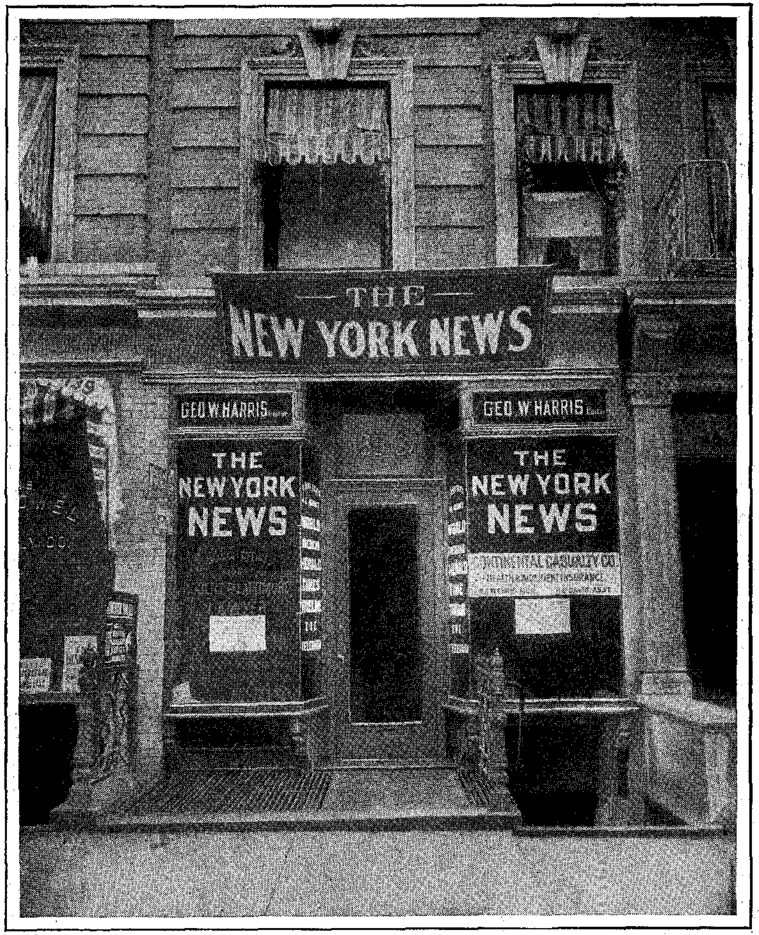
a yearly income of over $25,000. A study of the history of St. Philip's from its founding and establishment in Sullivan Street one hundred years ago, and its steady growth, reveals a system of business management of which any religious community might well be proud. In this Negro district there are eight other churches, some wealthy, all in good circumstances, and all with interesting histories of growth and administration.

Such success is not obtained without economy and well-directed saving. Indeed, as may be supposed from such a record as is shown by this brief account of St. Philip's Church, thrift is encouraged and practiced by the more substantial element of the community to a very great degree. In many instances all members of a family are engaged in some definite form of work. One family representative of this class may be instanced. The father is a chef in the Pullman service, a son is a "red cap" in the Grand Central terminal, a daughter has charge of a theatrical dressing-room, the mother makes appointments for hair-dressing among well-to-do people in white localities and acts as treasurer for the family. A younger daughter looks after the home. Each member of the family deposits his or her entire earnings with the treasurer, and when in need of clothing or moderate spending money draws on the treasurer, who issues the money and keeps strict account of all expenditures. This family has accumulated a savings account of over $46,000 and is buying property on Long Island.

The throughgoing business attitude of a majority of the community is witnessed in the small percentage of saloons. The city of New York numbers its saloons at the ratio of one to every thousand of population, and in poorer class neighborhoods a much higher average obtains. The Negro community has less than one to every two thousand of population, and only five of these are owned or conducted by Negroes.

A CLASS IN THE MUSIC SCHOOL SETTLEMENT

There are no very definite data on which to base the per capita wealth of the community. Some statistics published three or four years ago gave as the savings bank deposit of all Negroes in New York City the sum of fifteen millions. Since three-fourths of the Negro population of New York City and practically all of their prominent men now live in this uptown community, it would seem reasonable to estimate their savings deposits at least as high as ten million. Business men of the section, however, insist that this is too low by at least fifty per cent, and point out that the Union Dime Savings Bank carries


THE
NEW YORK NEWS
GEO W HARRIS
THE
NEW YORK
NEWS
GEO W HARRIS
THE
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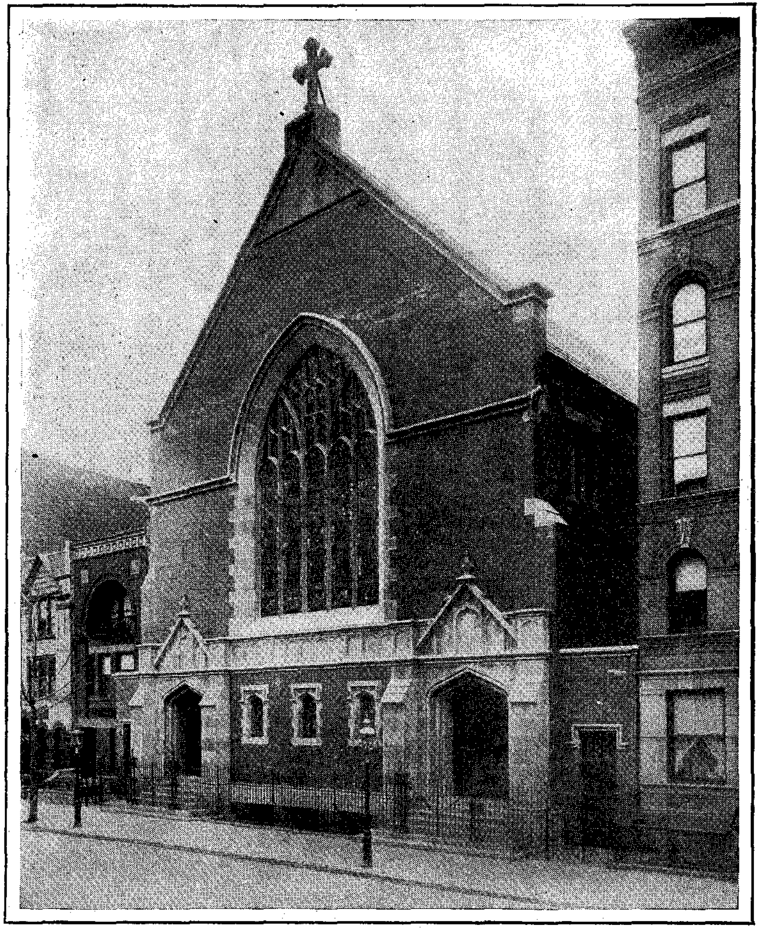
NEWS
CONTINENTAL CASUALTY CO

HOME OF A NEGRO NEWSPAPER

The entire staff of the paper is composed of colored men. Among them are a cartoonist and a Washington correspondent



ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH

Built from the plans of a Negro architect. The land and building cost $225,000. The church owns a block of apartment-houses worth $620,000 alone one and a half per cent of Negro savings.

Of public institutions run for and by Negroes the community possesses an old folks' home, a day nursery, a home for graduate nurses, a house for boys which is the headquarters for sixty Boy Scouts and their major, a union rescue home for girls, and a music school settlement. Of these, perhaps the music school settlement deserves most special attention. It occupies a fine double brown-stone house, and is under the management of Mr. J. Rosamond Johnson, a Negro and member of the New England Conservatory.

Of clubs and organizations for social purposes and civic betterment the Negro community has also its full share. The list of these includes such familiar sounding titles as the Business Men's League, the Civic League, the United Democracy, the Republican Club, and colored branches of the Boys' Camp and Big Brother movements. There is a musical club called the Tempo, of which James Riese Europe, a composer of modern dance music, is president. There is a theatrical club known as the Frogs, of which no less a person than Bert Williams, late of Williams and Walker, and now known as one of the most popular of Broadway comedians, is the head.

Among the opportunities available for the young Negroes of the district, Public School 89 plays a most important rôle. There are some two thousand pupils in this school, and eighty per cent are Negroes. One of the most serious problems confronting Mr. Theobald, principal of the school, is that of caring for the West Indian Negro children who have come with their parents to New York. At the age of eleven most of these children are not sufficiently advanced to take a place in the classes with Northern children of their own age. Of private stenographic and business schools there is a great variety available. Trades open to girls, such as hair-dressing, manicuring, dressmaking, and millinery, are also taught by many competent teachers. It is hoped, too, that a trade division will soon be established in the public school.

There is a branch public library in the very heart of the community. Books on religion, history, biography, and poetry are perhaps in the greatest demand. The community as a whole, although this statement can hardly be taken as a proof of widespread erudition or scholarship, is said to be a veritable mint for the subscription-book agent.

With all this progress in the art of modern living, is there no crime, no rioting or lawlessness? Indeed there is. But communities of ninety thousand people where there is no crime are not the most usual things in this world. Like white cities of equal size, this Negro settlement has its slums, in which the vicious element prevails; but the citizens, through the medium of their civic organizations and groups of workers, try hard to cope with that element, and every illegal act committed in the "black belt" is as much deplored by them as it would be in a similarly respectable and law-abiding white district.

The sincerity and spirit with which this Negro community is attacking the problems common to all cities and towns, irrespective of the color and race of their inhabitants, may be judged, perhaps, by a brief quotation from the programme of a meeting of Negro business men called to discuss certain disorders in their district. Very clearly indeed the leading Negroes of this New York committee have learned that civic disorder means both a social and a financial loss, and that the city or organized society which permits and tolerates bad conditions is wantonly throwing away its best assets. This is what these Negro business men have to say of civic betterment:

"The real estate agent should be interested in such matters on account of his steady income, if for no other reason. The minister should be interested because it helps him in his profession. The newspaper man ought to be interested because the better class of people read newspapers. The lawyer should be interested because he prefers civil rather than criminal cases. Every workingman should be interested because they are all in favor of bringing up their families under the best conditions possible; and certainly every tradesman should be interested because the better class of people carry better accounts, live better, and wear better clothes. Every taxpayer should be interested because he pays the salaries of the city officials whose business it is to see that law and order prevail."

The progress made by the citizens of this Negro community in cosmopolitan New York is well worth the attention and interest of all those concerned with bettering the physical and moral conditions of Negroes throughout the entire country. Is it too much to hope that the time may come when to all Negroes may be offered the opportunity for clean living and civic development such as is apparently available in the "black belt" of New York?

# REMINISCENCES[1]

## BY LYMAN ABBOTT

### CHAPTER XII

## RECONSTRUCTION: EFFORTS FOR ITS SOLUTION

ON the last Sunday in April, 1865, I preached my farewell sermon in Terre Haute and started immediately thereafter for the East. On our way we met the funeral cortège bearing the body of Abraham Lincoln to its resting-place in Springfield, Illinois. As soon as my wife and children were settled in our temporary home in the boarding-house in New York where my father was living, and I had acquainted myself with the details and with the workers at the office of the Commission, I started for Washington and Richmond. In the former city I wished to see General O. O. Howard, the head of the newly constituted Freedmen's Bureau; in the latter city I hoped to acquaint myself with conditions in Virginia and with the agent of our Society who was already there engaged in the work. My letters to my wife were briefer than they had been from Tennessee, but extracts from two letters will give the reader a better idea of my work than I could do now from my faded recollection.

"*Tuesday*. Started out early in the morning with the rest of the company. Waited on the War Department, and were referred to Freedmen's and Refugees' Bureau. Went to General Howard's hotel; he was out. Then to Postmaster Dennison, and received a letter of introduction to Governor Pierpont. Then with Dr. Thompson to the "Chronicle" office to tell the editor of our Commission, and thence to Dr. Gurley's. I gave him your kind regards, and he wished to be remembered to you. Mrs. G. was quite sick. He gave me a very interesting account of the President's last hours—not so much for what was new, as that it came with freshness from an eye-witness and participant. It was very touching Remind me to tell you when I return. Then, via the theater where President was killed, to dinner. We afterward called on Governor Pierpont and were told he was living at Alexandria. . . .

"*Wednesday*. Breakfast at 7:30 A.M. Then went down to boat for Alexandria. Passed within a stone's throw of arsenal, where conspirators are on trial. Governor Pierpont had gone to Washington. Mr. C——, of Christian Commission, whom also we wished to see, was *non est*. So we returned but little wiser than we went. . . . I went to General Howard's. I had undertaken to draw up a circular letter to the public to give the outline of his policy. Obtained his ideas, quietly insinuated some of my own, and took the draft home to draw up in form. I like General Howard very much. And, unless I greatly mistake, my stay in Washington will pay in my future intercourse with the Government, though it has accomplished very little now.

"*Thursday*. Arose early this morning and drew up circular letter. After breakfast submitted it to Dr. M——, made some alterations at his suggestion, and at 10 A.M. went up to War Department. Met General Howard there, and we all walked up to his quarters together. He had just got in some desks, but had no chairs, nothing yet in shape. Submitted the circular letter to him, which he afterwards read to some representatives of Freedmen's organizations present, and later still to General Thomas, Adjutant-General. It was adopted with no material alteration, and, between you and me, as published before now to the country, is a good deal my work. It recognizes refugees as well as freedmen, which otherwise would not have been done. . . .

"*Friday*. Breakfast at seven, per agreement. We waited over till to-day simply to see Mr. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, and get a letter to General Halleck at Richmond. Drizzly, foggy day. Engaged a carriage, and Dr. M—— and myself started for an inspecting tour. Of our ignorant driver, of Aqueduct Bridge, and Arlington Heights, and the Arlington mansion (General Lee's old house), and the freedmen's village, and General Meade's headquarters, and the Long Bridge, some account hereafter. Could not see Secretary Dana, and so I could not

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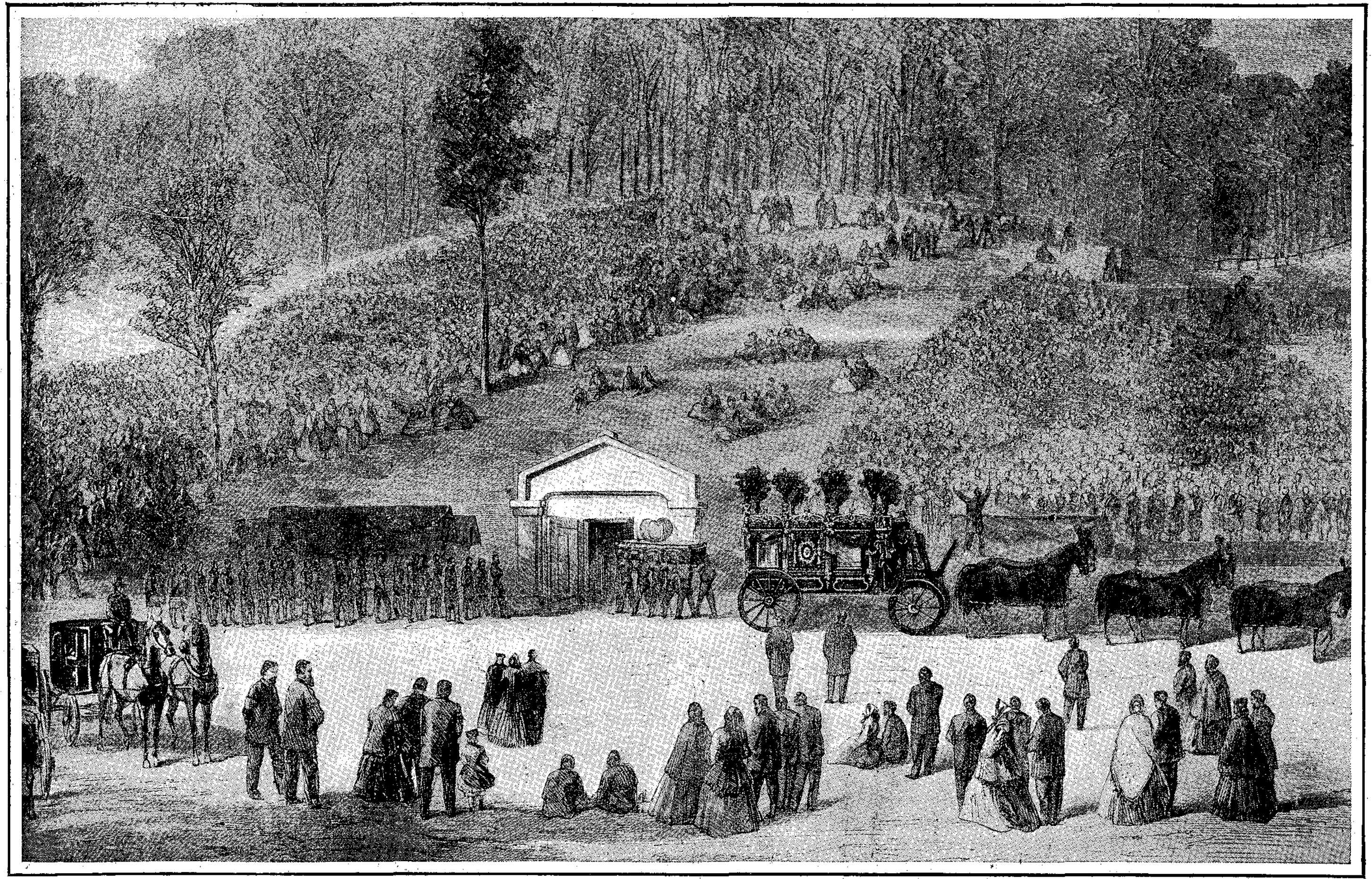


SKETCHED BY W. WAUD

REPRODUCED FROM HARPER'S WEEKLY OF MAY 27, 1865

FUNERAL CORTÈGE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN AT OAK RIDGE, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS get the letter. Ate dinner, paid my bill, wrote a note to Judge U——, and started for the boat. Have to pay no fare. But there is no cabin. All the staterooms are taken by officers, prominent among whom are General Weitzel and staff, and Dr. and I have hired the pilot's room at $5. Would have slept on deck, but it threatens rain."

"Richmond, Virginia, 23d May, 1865.

"I bade you good-by at Fortress Monroe. We had a very pleasant sail up the James River. But first we saw at Fortress Monroe the steamer on which Jeff Davis was then a prisoner. It was pointed out to us by several, among others by a young surgeon who had belonged to a man-of-war that was standing guard over him. We left our boat and took another at City Point. Here the fortifications begin. The river on both sides is lined with them. No advance on Richmond up the river would have been possible. We fell in with some officers, who explained all the works to us, pointed out Dutch Gap Canal, Fort Darling, Chapin's Farm, Bermuda Hundred, etc., etc. Reached Richmond at night about 7 P.M. Saturday. We went to a rebel major's house, a private boarding-house, where the Confederates conquered me. I was attacked in the night by a large army of small infantry, and after a brief but bloody battle I retired in good order from the field and slept on the floor."

If the reader does not find much romance in these letters, he may imagine that I did not find much romance in the work. The conditions in Virginia were far more discouraging than they were in Tennessee. There was not in Richmond a single newspaper which was interested in any attempt to create a new South. There was not, so far as I could learn, a single minister who pointed toward or hoped for the coming days. "The clergy," I wrote, "who have been for four years preaching slavery and secession, cannot now preach liberty and union. If they attempt it, the people attribute their conversion to fear or self-interest." The States' right sentiment dominated the entire community, and nowhere in the community found stronger expression than in the churches. An agent of the American Tract Society was told that his publications would be welcomed if the local society could put its own imprint on them. "We do not believe," said the Richmond representative, "in an American Tract Society. We are going to maintain a Virginia Tract Society." Some Bibles had started for Richmond before the war from the American Bible Society, but had been housed in Baltimore during the war and shipped to Richmond when the war ended and the blockade was raised. And the Richmond Bible Society refused to receive them because they bore the imprint *American* Bible Society.

There were a few Union men in Richmond, but very few. And of those few not many were inclined to declare themselves. They were right to keep silent. To speak was to invite obloquy, if nothing worse. They must bide their time. One of them gave me a dramatic account of conditions during the last weeks of the war. He was a school-teacher; received $600 tuition for each pupil; and the week before the surrender paid, in Confederate money, $75 for a pair of boots and $1,200 for a barrel of flour. He congratulated himself on the bargain. He had been wise enough to realize that anything was better than Confederate money.

While I was in Richmond Sherman's army passed through the city on its way North. It was a pathetic sight. In the summer of 1861 I had seen perhaps some of these very regiments marching down Broadway to the war—colors flying, bands playing, bayonets glistening, voices cheering. Now they marched through a captured city as silent as if it had been deserted by its inhabitants, or as if some magic spell of silence had been laid upon them by an evil genie. Not a flag flying, not a handkerchief fluttering, not a cheer uttered; no populace upon the sidewalk, no faces at the windows; no small boys in extemporized procession accompanying the troops. The troops themselves bore witness to the campaigning they had passed through: no prancing horses here, no eager faces, no gay caparisons, no gleaming muskets; instead, well-worn garments, pans and kettles thrown over the shoulders or jangling from the horses' backs, and flag-poles borne aloft in sad triumph, from which almost every vestige of the once gay flag had been shot away. The war was worth all that it cost. But the cost was terribly great—cost to conquered and cost to conqueror.

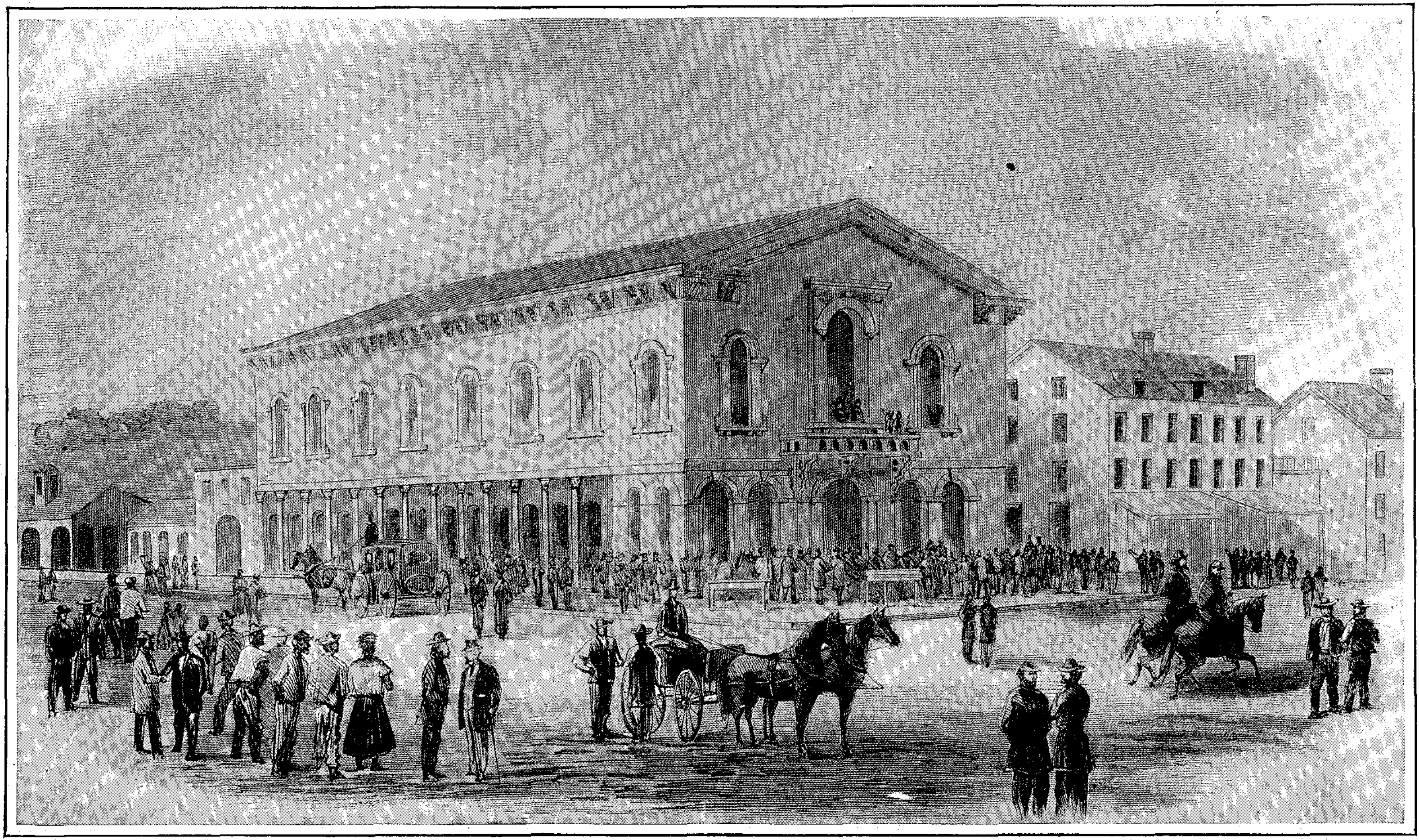
I returned to the North not discouraged, but certainly not encouraged, by what I had seen. My triple task—of federating the freedmen's societies, inspiring the kindly feeling of the North, and securing the co-operation of the South—was carried on simultaneously; but I shall best describe it to my readers as three separate and successive tasks.

Over a dozen local undenominational societies sprang up in the North to render aid to the freedmen. They were known as Freedmen's Societies. They were working with little or no co-operation, and sometimes in rivalry. The American Union Commission was the only society which ignored all distinctions of color and was organized to help its unfortunate brethren in the South, whether white or black, freemen or freedmen. It was also, I think, the only society which was National in its organization. The Freedmen's Societies were naturally reluctant to abandon the advantage which their name and their limitation of purpose gave to them. For the North had a great and, as it has proved, a permanent sympathy with the ex-slave; but after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln it had none for the white people of the South. The hostility to the South stimulated by that assassination had to be allayed and sympathy with the South created in order to obtain funds for a non-sectarian and non-racial service in the South. But the radical abolitionists, who had insisted on no distinction because of race or color when that principle was of benefit to the Negro, could not deny it because it was of benefit to the white man. The founders of the American Union Commission had thought that the way to ignore distinctions of race and color was to ignore them. Therefore in the official declaration of their purpose they had not mentioned by name Negro or slave or freedman. "The Commission," they said, "is constituted for the purpose of aiding and co-operating with the people of that portion of the United States which has been desolated and impoverished by the war in the restitution of their civil and social conditions upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality." This was not enough for those who had organized and were carrying on the work of relief and education among the freedmen. They were not content merely to ignore all distinctions of caste, race, or color; they wanted to declare that they did so. They accepted our principle, but insisted that it should be formally declared; we acquiesced; and for our simple declaration was substituted in the reorganized society the following:

> The object of this Commission is the relief, education, and elevation of the freedmen of the United States, and to aid and co-operate with the people of the South, without distinction of race or color, in the improvement of their condition upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality. No school or depot of supplies shall be maintained from the benefits of which any shall be excluded because of color.

The next difficulty in bringing the societies together in one National organization was the question of officers. Who should be its head and direct its policy? That, so far as I was concerned, was easily settled. As soon as I saw the union of all the undenominational societies in sight I tended my resignation as General Secretary. This involved no great self-sacrifice. I found myself after six months of executive work longing to return to the pastorate. On the 14th of December, nine months after accepting what I thought not improbably would be my life-work, I wrote to Dr. Thompson a letter from which I make the following extract:

> New York, 14 December, 1865.
>
> I herewith respectfully tender my resignation of my position of General Secretary of the American Union Commission.
>
> I left the pastorate for the specific purpose of uniting with the gentlemen of the Union Commission in securing the obliteration of all recognition of caste and race distinctions in that great work of Christian charity which the providence of God has laid upon the Nation. From the beginning it has seemed to me that the true way to accomplish this is by uniting in one organization all who are engaged in this philanthropic and patriotic work. I have therefore sincerely desired and earnestly labored to bring about such a union between the two great undenominational societies, the Freedmen's Aid and American Union Commissions. This seems to be now nearly accomplished. Nothing remains, I think, to prevent, except the choice of a name. I cannot think this will prove an insurmountable obstacle. I can see no reason why the double machinery of two societies should be preserved to do substantially one and the same work, nor do I believe the public will permanently allow such a division of its means and energies. This object being accomplished, I feel inclined to yield to the urgent solicitation of others and resume the pastoral labors again at an early day.
>
> At all events, I am unwilling that my name and official position should be any source of embarrassment in the final consummation of this union, or that it should be deemed a matter of courtesy either to myself or to the Union Commission to continue my official connection in the United Commission. Having the interests of the work at heart, I feel very strongly that they



SKETCHED BY J. R. HAMILTON

REPRODUCED FROM HARPER'S WEEKLY OF AUGUST 12, 1865

THE FIRST ELECTION IN VIRGINIA AFTER THE WAR, JULY 25, 1865: POLLING AT THE FIRST MARKET HOUSE, MAIN AND 17TH STREETS, RICHMOND can best be subserved by leaving those engaged in the work entirely free to frame such offices as it shall seem to require, and fill them with the men best adapted to accomplish it, unembarrassed by any considerations of the past.

This resignation was not accepted. Instead I was elected by the united organization its General Secretary, and Mr. J. Miller McKim, who had been the General Secretary of the New York Freedmen's Aid Society, was elected Corresponding Secretary. He was a Quaker, I was a Congregationalist; he was a Unitarian layman, I an orthodox minister; he a radical, I, as compared with him, a conservative. But our object was the same. We were both unselfishly devoted to the intellectual and moral reconstruction of a new South, and in the four years of co-operation which followed I do not think the good understanding between us was ever interrupted in a single instance. So much more important for co-operation is unity of spirit than unity of opinion.

What proved to be the most difficult obstacle of all to the union was the question of name. It often happens, as it did in this case, that the questions of least significance become questions of greatest importance. The sense of relative values is, I sometimes think, the sense least developed, especially in reformers. I remember the occasion when I ought to have been in bed at home, but left it, in spite of some concern in my own mind and a great deal of concern in my wife's mind, and took the journey to Cleveland, met with a committee of conference between the Eastern and Western Societies there, lay down on the sofa in the church parlor where our conference was held, and listened with great anxiety while the question was fought out for an hour or two whether the name of the new organization should be The Freedmen's *and* Union Commission or The Freedmen's Union Commission. Which I favored I do not remember; I do not think I much cared. The final achievement—a union of all organizations, and an end to duplication of services and salaries—helped me to a quick recovery, and after a day or two of rest in a hospitable home I returned to New York none the worse for the experience. I find from the record that the final reorganization was effected in the month of May, 1866. It resulted at once in considerable economies in administration. Two central offices, one in Cincinnati, one in Washington, were discontinued, the two offices in New York City were united in one, salaries were reduced, and one National publication was made to do the work before done by at least three. It is to this monthly periodical that I am indebted for the extracts and much of the information given below.

I had written to my wife in February from New York before accepting the office of Secretary that I should not be charged with the duty of raising money. "They do not expect me," I wrote, "to do any collecting agency business. I should, for example, write to Mr. H——, arrange through him for a public meeting in Masonic Hall, attend *perhaps* myself as *one* of the speakers, but rely largely on the interest and co-operation of others there. This is the plan they are now pursuing successfully." After the reorganization this plan was made almost necessary because the united Commission was essentially federal in its character. It was composed of local or district societies, and I could not with propriety go into any district to raise money except by previous arrangement with the local organization. Moreover, we had a Financial Secretary, to whom the duty of raising funds was especially intrusted. George J. Mingins was a natural orator. He had wit, humor, imagination, sentiment, emotion, a good voice, freedom of action, and aptness in expression. He was an admirable story-teller. A slight Scotch burr added fascination to his speech. No one ever went out while he was speaking.

Nevertheless I had experience enough in the money-raising campaign to give me ever after a vital sympathy with that much underrated and much overworked profession—the secretary of a religious or philanthropic society. Such a secretary must be in three places at once—at least the three are constantly calling for him. He must be in the field to know how the work for which he is responsible is going on, and to give cheer and courage to the workers who complain to themselves, if not to him, if a year goes by without a call from their chief. He must be with his constituents, on whose interest and enthusiasm he is dependent for the means with which to carry on the work. They complain if he does not come, and endure him if he does. Men welcome an opportunity to make money, but resent an opportunity to use it. And while he is in the field or with his constituents he is always reflecting that he ought to be in his office. If he is absent for a week, he returns to find his desk snowed under by a mass of correspondence, and every correspondent imagines that he is the only one who has written, and grumbles if he does not get a reply by return of mail. Gentle reader, the next time the secretary of a benevolent society appears in your church pulpit, give him a chance. Remember that he is a human being, not a mere bit of animated machinery, nor the advocate of a client before a jury who must pay out of their own pocket whatever damages they award.

I suppose my experience was neither better nor worse than the average. The letters to my wife portray some of the sorrows of an itinerant secretary. Sometimes the meeting was good and the collection was poor—" I had a pretty good meeting in Ann Arbor," I wrote my wife, "but the collection was only $13.50." Sometimes the weather was almost prohibitive. Thus: " At Detroit a pouring storm broke up our meeting altogether." Sometimes the speakers we wanted were absent and the speaker that we did not want was present. In a meeting held in Boston "the expected chairman and the principal speaker of the evening were absent. . . . Mr. C. followed. His speech abounded in violent tirades of the Presbyterians and the Southern people. So it pleased the audience and did not please me." Sometimes the audience failed to appear. A humorous reporter opened his satirical account of one meeting as follows: " In pursuance of previous and liberal announcements, a mass-meeting composed of eighty-two people crowded into the narrow limits of Crosby's Opera-House last evening to listen to able addresses on the subject of freedmen's education." This part of my work had no attractions for me. To speak to the head is interesting; to speak to the heart is fascinating; to speak to the pocket is dreary work. I wrote my wife: " I think a year will tire me of this traveling, desultory life; I can hardly go into a church but that I wish I were a preacher again, or into a library but that I want the old opportunities for study."

Our campaign for funds was not, however, as discouraging as these letters might imply. Successful mass-meetings were held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco. General Howard, Phillips Brooks, Bishop Simpson, Chief Justice Chase, Henry Ward Beecher, Governor Andrews of Massachusetts, were among the champions of our cause. A committee of well-known citizens, including such men as William Cullen Bryant, Peter Cooper, and George Cabot Ward, was appointed by the Union League Club of New York City to co-operate with us in raising funds for our work. As a result of a sermon by Mr. Beecher in Brooklyn, we received a collection of over twenty-three hundred dollars; a meeting in Chicago addressed by Dr. Patterson brought us in nine hundred and fifty dollars. Mr. McKim made a flying visit of a month to the West, and though, I believe, he took up no collections, leaving the collecting work to be done by the Western branches, his journey brought into the National treasury ten thousand dollars, besides probably more that went into the treasuries of the local branches. Our first annual report showed that we were a National organization with nine local or district branches covering practically all the Northern States east of the Mississippi River, including Maryland and Delaware; had collected and expended in the South over eight hundred thousand dollars in money and supplies, partly for relief, but largely for educational work; and were sustaining or helping to sustain three hundred schools in the South. These schools were in every Southern State except Delaware and Texas. Of these I was able to write: "They embrace among their instructors many of the best and most experienced teachers the North can furnish. In Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Raleigh, Charleston, Savannah, Beaufort (South Carolina), Mobile, Vicksburg, Memphis, Nashville, Huntsville, and other central points we have succeeded in establishing model schools—schools really now being occupied by Southern people, in spite of prejudice." Many of them, however, had been established by local societies before the union already described had been effected. At the end of five years we had raised and expended at a minimum cost for administration five million dollars, about one-fifth of it contributed from abroad, chiefly from England.

In this work we were confronted with three fundamental questions: What should be the attitude of our representatives toward the people of the Southern communities? What should be our attitude toward the missionary work carried on in the South by our Northern contemporaries? And what should be our attitude toward the black and the white races?

I. We sought, and to a considerable degree secured, the co-operation of the men and women in the South. We had Southern men acting as our representatives and Southern teachers teaching in our freedmen's schools. My experience during these five years of work in the South convinced me that for the prejudice then more widely entertained than now against Northern schools and Northern teachers working for the Negro in the Southern States the Northern missionary teachers are partly responsible. I can best illustrate this fact by a single typical instance—an extract from a letter written to our office by one of our teachers in the South and our reply:

> By the way, I must tell you two little bits of news. First, a lady in town has offered to give music to colored children, and I was requested to make the announcement in school. I did so with a smile in my sleeve. Second, several are quite anxious that we should have a gentleman in school as a teacher of the boys. It is some one who lives in town. . . . I have no objection to the people here opening a school, but I do not care to get up a school and then give it over to them, or take them into it with me.

To this letter I replied:

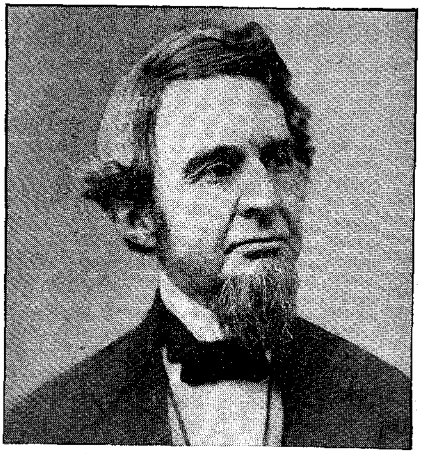
> That is a serious mistake. This is just what we want to do. The whole object of the Commission is to stimulate the Southern people to take up and carry on this work of education themselves. Our constitution provides for co-operation with them. All our plans and methods are formed with that end in view. The more Southerners we can take into our schools with us, the better. The sooner we can turn our present schools over to them and go into new neighborhoods where no schools are, the better for our work. The sooner the people of the South awake to the importance of this educational work and take it off our hands altogether, the better for them, for the colored people, and for the whole country. The faintest indication of an inclination to co-operate in the work of educating the colored people should be cordially welcomed. We should go more than half-way to meet them. Miss —— can render to the freedmen no so great service as that which she will accomplish by encouraging and stimulating such indications of a willingness to co-operate in this work. No assiduity in personal labor can compensate for the evil which will result from any policy which repels such advances and tends to perpetuate the estrangement between the white and colored people.

That this was the spirit in which the work of the Commission was generally carried on is indicated by repeated letters from the field published in the National journal; an extract from one of our representatives must suffice here. To teachers who purposed to come South and enter upon the work he writes:

> Two methods of procedure are open to you. On the one hand, you may enter a city, secure your location without consulting the authorities, make your acquaintances and friends solely among the Negroes, ignore the whites, disregard local customs and lifelong prejudices and opinions. . . . Suppose, on the other hand, you are earnest at first to instill the people with a correct knowledge of your undertaking. For this purpose you confer with the mayor, aldermen, or clergymen; seek their advice; as much as possible conform to it; are courteous, frank, and kind to all; exhibit this spirit in word, act, and expression; and conform to local customs and practices whenever such conformity will not compromise principle. By this course you will show yourself and your society sincere in your expressed desire to co-operate as well as aid.

Carrying on our work in this spirit, we not only had the co-operation of Southern men and women in our work of educating the freedmen, but Southern men and women who were attempting, under great difficulty, to give the Negro an education sought for our aid and co-operation, which it can hardly be necessary to say was always gladly given. In one case our freedmen's schools were taken over bodily by a prominent Southern city and made a part of the public school system; in another case material financial aid was given to our work.

II. We did not regard the South as a proper field for missionary effort. We went into the South as we had gone and are still going into the West, not to convert a non-Christian or imperfectly Christian people, but to aid a people impoverished by war in establishing the corner-stone of democracy—a public school system. We had no quarrel with the missionary work of Northern churches, and entered into no rivalry with their denominational schools. But our aim was not theirs. We occasionally were criticised by representatives of missionary societies for our lack of religion, and this criticism we met from time to time by a declaration of our principles. "Important," said our National organ, "as is that distinctively religious work which only the ecclesiastical and missionary boards can perform, there is also another, the importance of which all men increasingly recognize—the promotion of popular education in the South by the establish-

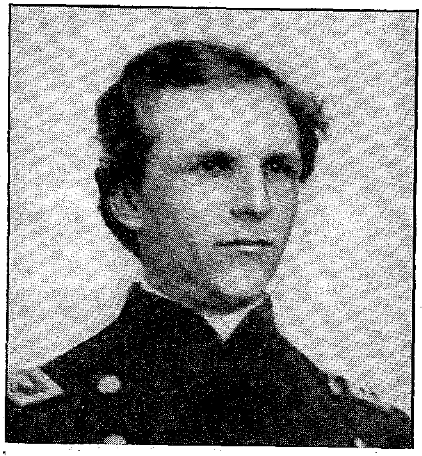


J. MILLER McKIM

"He was a Quaker; I was a Congregationalist; he a radical, I, as compared with him, a conservative"

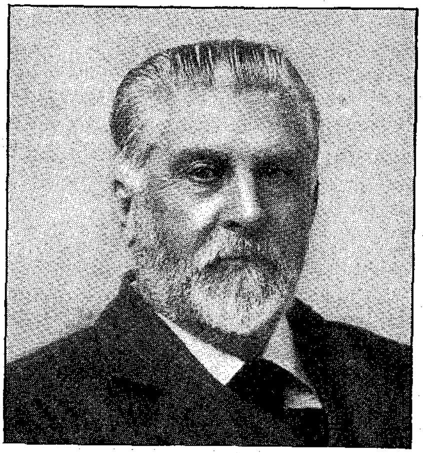
GENERAL CLINTON B. FISK

His "tenacity of purpose, understanding of men, and inexhaustible humor made him equally irresistible as a combatant and as a peace-maker"



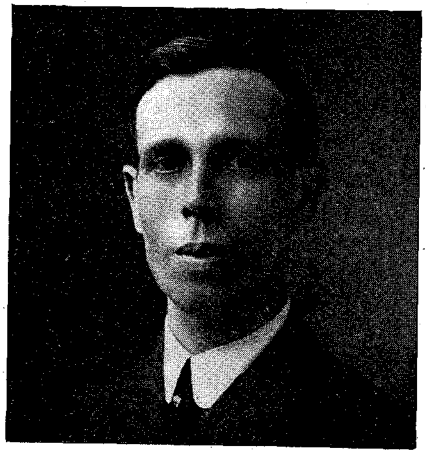
GENERAL S. C. ARMSTRONG

"Out of a camp of shiftless, helpless Negroes he created what has developed into the greatest industrial school in America"



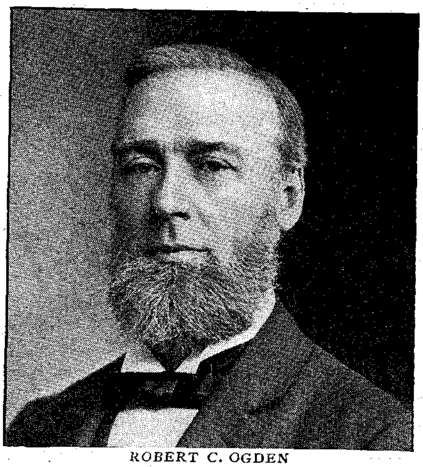
DR. J. L. M. CURRY

He "combined the eloquence of a pulpit orator, the courage of a Southern soldier, and the practical knowledge of an experienced politician"



EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY

He "withdrew from the ministry because he could better minister to the people out of the pulpit than in it"



ROBERT C. OGDEN

"A merchant commoner, who employed in using his wealth the same diligence which he employed in acquiring it"

THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF GENERAL FISK AND GENERAL ARMSTRONG ARE FROM THE F. H. MESERVE COLLECTION

SOME OF THE LEADERS IN THE WORK OF HELPING THE FREEDMEN ment in the several States of common schools not under ecclesiastical control. This is the peculiar province of this Commission; and it is a work which can be well essayed only by a society owning allegiance to no particular church, but alone to the great cause of Christ as represented in that down-fallen humanity which constitutes, in popular estimate, the least among his brethren."

So resolute was at times the effort to create a prejudice against the Commission because Episcopalians and Quakers, Orthodox and Unitarians, worked cordially together in maintaining it, that in September, 1866, I prepared a paper on "Education and Religion," which dealt in a large way with the whole problem of the relation of organized religion to public education. It embodied that principle for which I have stood throughout my life—that Christianity is more than denominationalism. I declared it to be our object "to render the subjects of our education better fitted to be not only citizens of the Republic but children of our Father in heaven." "We desire," I said, "the more that our schools may be truly Christian because they are unecclesiastical. For this purpose we aim to commission only teachers possessing the spirit of true religion, by which we do not mean persons of any particular doctrinal views, but such as are attracted to the work, not by curiosity or love of adventure, or its compensation, but by a genuine spirit of love for God and man." Looking back, I can see that in this practical co-operation in a wholly Christian but also wholly unecclesiastical work, with men of very widely different religious opinions, I was unconsciously preparing for what later was to be my life-work as the editor of a journal which was, in the thought of its founders, the more supremely Christian because it was wholly free from every form of ecclesiastical control.

III. The reader will recall that the constitution of the United Society provided that "no schools or supply depots shall be maintained from the benefits of which any shall be excluded because of color." This provision early brought before the Commission a serious problem. Our general agent in North Carolina wrote us as early as March, 1866, that "it is very desirable to have schools in large cities for blacks and whites separately, and that these latter schools should be supported by the same benevolent body that sustains the former." I wrote in reply a letter which was read to and approved by the Executive Committee, in which I stated that there would be no attempt to prevent children going to schools of their own choice, "each choosing mainly companions of their own race;" but that no pupil could be excluded from one of our schools because of his color; and in my letter I affirmed that this principle could not be departed from, both because it was inherently right—"to exclude a child from a free school because he is either white or black is inherently wrong."—and because the principle had been agreed upon as a basis for the united organization, and, "thus adopted as a compact, honor requires that it should be carried out in the same spirit in which it was conceived."

About the same time I sent to our agents in the South a circular letter asking a number of questions for the purpose of getting accurate information for the Executive Committee. Among them was the question: "Is there any probability of the poor whites, adults or children, consenting to come to school with colored pupils? Do you know of any case where the experiment of a free school, open to all, has been fairly tried, and, if so, what has been the result?" The reply from General Clinton B. Fisk was typical of the replies received from all our correspondents. He said: "You cannot gather the whites and blacks into the same school. Both races rebel against it. Separate schools under the same organization can be successfully conducted. I know of no successful experiment of mixing them in the same school. I do know of signal failure." Practically all the other replies were to the same effect, and some of them indicated that the opposition to co-education came from the blacks as well as the whites. These letters were among the first influences to change my opinion respecting the desirability of the co-education of the races. These are reminiscences, not political philosophy; but it is legitimate to take this occasion to say that I no longer think it is inherently right that no one should be excluded from a school because of his color. Co-education of the races, like co-education of the sexes, is simply a question of expediency; and experience early demonstrated that it was not expedient to attempt co-education of the races in the Southern States. Justice demands that equal—not necessarily identical—educational advantages be offered to both races and to both sexes. It does not demand that they should be afforded under the same roof.

From the very outset of our work we had succeeded in putting ourselves in connection with the educational authorities, and secured their co-operation, or, to speak more accurately, had found our proposed co-operation warmly welcomed by them in an endeavor to organize efficient public schools under non-sectarian, non-partisan, and non-sectional educational leaders. In accordance with this policy two graduates of Yale University were selected by a committee of Yale College and sent out at the request of the educational authorities of Nashville, Tennessee, to take charge, one of the classical department of the high school, the other of the principal public school of the city. Another Yale graduate was sent to Knoxville, a third to Marysville. One of the instructors of the Scientific Department of Yale went to North Carolina to aid in re-establishing on a new basis the public schools of that State, the only Southern State that had before the war any approximation to a public school system. Schools supported by private funds were opened in Richmond, Virginia, under the direction of two teachers sent from the North, with assistant teachers from the South, and the cordial co-operation of Southern men interested in the new education. Schools attended exclusively by white children were opened and maintained at various points and were eventually incorporated in the public school system of the State, and had, I think, some influence both in promoting and in shaping such a system.

The work thus initiated by the Freedmen's Union Commission was gradually taken up and carried on by other agencies. The churches were not slow to see in the condition of the freedmen an opportunity and a call to duty. With a breadth of view before too little known in our missionary operations, the churches recognized that education is as essential as evangelization, and began the establishment of schools for the freedmen. Freedmen's branches were organized in connection with the various church missionary boards. The American Missionary Association, which had been organized as a protest against the apathy on the slavery question of the older missionary societies, began to devote its missionary work largely to the evangelization and education of the freedmen. Simultaneously the Southern States began the organization of public school systems, and in these public schools provided for the education of both races, though always in different schools. Men of large wealth and large views—and the two do not always go together—recognized the Nation's need, and in successive gifts made provision for it. In 1867–8, George Peabody established a fund of three million and a half dollars to be devoted to education in the South; in 1882 John F. Slater gave a million, and in 1888 Daniel Hand a million, for the education of the Negroes in the South; and in 1902 John D. Rockefeller created a fund of one million, later increased to something over fifty millions, for educational uses throughout the United States, including, of course, the Southern States. A number of smaller funds have been at various times created for the same or similar purposes.

In April, 1869, the Executive Committee of the American Freedmen's Union Commission reached the conclusion that other agencies were carrying on so effectively the work for which the Commission had been called into being, that it was no longer either necessary or expedient to continue its work. "This organization," it was said, in what may perhaps be regarded as its farewell address, "though perhaps not realizing fully the hopes of the most sanguine, has, in fair measure, accomplished the ends of its establishment. It gathered fragmentary, disconnected, and colliding associations into one. It converted a desultory enterprise into an organized movement. It gave to the whole cause, both within and without the immediate sphere of its activity, a character of national unity and dignity which added largely to its effectiveness. At its first public meeting it sounded the keynote for future operations which raised the whole movement to a higher plane. It declared, in advance of all other national organizations of whatever kind, that the way to reconstruct the South was to give the black man the right to vote, and the way to fit him for the responsibilities of a voter was to educate him. A new impulse was thenceforward given to the cause, and increased respect accorded to it by the public. . . . The American Freedmen's Union Commission will cease to exist on the first of July next, not because the work of aiding in the education of the freedmen will then be finished, but because the existence of a national organization for this purpose will have ceased to be either necessary or expedient. . . . The work will go on until it is done. He that put it into the hearts of the people to begin it will not withhold his inspiration or support till it is finally completed. It is a great work and has no parallel in the history of nations."

My share in the educational and moral reconstruction of the South was inconspicuous and relatively insignificant. But I could not tell the story of my life and omit from it some account of this share in one of the great world movements of history. I do not know where its parallel is to be found. A conquered country not only accepts without sullenness the results of war, but to rebuilding its civilization in substantial harmony with that of its victor devotes the same persistent courage with which it fought the representatives of that civilization on the field of battle. And the victor not only takes no life as a penalty for four years of resistance to its authority, but, at first through voluntary organizations, then through the Christian churches, then through the generosity of great givers, devotes uncalculated millions of dollars to repairing the wastes which war had caused and to helping its conquered foe to rival its conqueror in all that goes to make great the state.

At the close of the war the laws against Negro schools had been abolished by emancipation and some Negro schools had been established, but a feeling against the education of the Negro dominated the South. When the protection of the army was withdrawn, school-houses were in several instances burned and school-teachers mobbed and driven away. When open violence was not practiced, the "nigger teachers" were ostracized. They generally found it difficult, often impossible, to secure board in reputable white families. Nor was this prejudice confined to the South. One of the early freedmen societies of the North was rent asunder by the unwillingness of a part of its members to co-operate in any movement looking to the education of the Negro, though they were willing to provide him with food and clothing. The introduction of a public school system for the whites met also at first with serious opposition from four sources: political opposition, upon the ground that it is not the function of a State to carry on the work of education; ecclesiastical opposition, on the ground that the State can furnish only secular education and education should be religious; social opposition, not the less powerful because not clearly expressed, against any attempt to educate the lower classes lest it should unfit them for their position; and, finally, economic opposition, based on the poverty of the South and its real or fancied inability to tax itself for school purposes. To these difficulties in the way of a new educational system were added the facts that the old educational system had been overthrown by the war, the school buildings destroyed, the school endowments lost and in many instances the best teachers and educational leaders had fallen on the field or died in hospitals.

Forty years have passed since then. To-day there is not a single Southern State which has not a public school system, nor a single State which does not provide for the education of both races. This has been done voluntarily and without aid from the Federal Government. My experience leads me to the conviction that any person visiting any Southern community and asking to see the schools will be taken by his Southern host to schools for the Negroes as well as to the schools for the whites, and will be shown the one with as much pride and pleasure as the other. I recall several such instances in my own experience. Notable among them is one in which I was taken by a Southern gentleman in Nashville to see its two great universities—Vanderbilit University for the whites, Fisk University for the Negroes—both regarded with pride as the two great educational institutions of the city.

This work has been carried on in spite of Southern prejudice, and also in spite of Northern narrowness. In March, 1866, I wrote: "Though the Southern States accept liberty, they repudiate equality, and still provide in their laws, not only a different political status, but different laws and penalties for colored men, *because of their color*. If we wish to secure the abolition of this distinction from our laws, we cannot maintain it in our charities. Our exclusive recognition of the freedmen as a separate class confirms this injurious distinction in spite of ourselves." History has, I think, confirmed the justice of this statement. Our missionary societies, by going into the South almost exclusively as the friends of the freedmen, have unconsciously and unintentionally done not a little to develop hostility to the freedmen. But in spite of prejudices, both North and South, which for partisan purposes political journals have sometimes exaggerated and political demagogues have sometimes stimulated, there is a new

South, and, thanks to a band of patriots in both North and South, a new Union. I have had some advantages for gauging the sentiment of the country, East and West, North and South, both by travel and by correspondence. And it is beyond all question that not only the spirit of nationality, but the spirit of a brotherhood overleaping all chasms of section and of race, unites this heterogeneous people in one Nation as it was never united before. I lay down my pen and some of the great leaders in this movement for the kingdom of God pass before me; would that I could paint their miniatures for readers who have never known them!

General O. O. Howard, the most maligned and most misinterpreted of men; his work as head of the Freedmen's Bureau twice investigated, once by a committee of the House of Representatives, once by a court martial on which sat such men as Generals Sherman and McDowell—each time triumphantly vindicated; a soldier who could no more think of deserting his post at the head of the Freedmen's Bureau so long as there was duty to be done and humanity to be served than he could think of deserting his post in time of battle so long as there were enemies to his country to be fought, and who bore the wounds inflicted on his good name in the one field as bravely as those inflicted on his body in the other.

General Armstrong, missionary, soldier, philanthropist, educator, who, out of a camp of shiftless, helpless Negroes, created what his successor—Dr. H. B. Frissell—has developed into the greatest industrial school in America. It would be well if every State in the Union could possess an institution of like spirit, purpose, and equipment for the education of its youth of all races.

Booker T. Washington, who has done more to interpret the South to the North and the North to the South, the white man to the black man and the black man to the white man, than any other American, and whom the future will place as a leader of his race in the same rank with the other great racial leaders of human history.

Dr. Charles D. McIver, whose whirlwind campaign for popular education in North Carolina, everywhere converting apathy into enthusiasm, had all the fervor of a Methodist evangelism, and left behind it a permanence in result which Methodist evangelism does not always secure.

General Clinton B. Fisk, whose tenacity of purpose, understanding of all sorts and conditions of men, and inexhaustible humor made him equally irresistible as a combatant and as a peacemaker.

Dr. J. L. M. Curry, who combined the eloquence of a pulpit orator, the courage of a Southern soldier, and the practical knowledge of an experienced politician, and devoted them all to burning into the hearts of his countrymen the truth that "ignorance is never a cure for anything."

Edgar Gardner Murphy, who withdrew from the ministry because he could better minister to the people out of the pulpit than in it, and whose published interpretation of the Old South and the New is the work of one who was at once a prophet, a reformer, and a historian.

President Edwin Anderson Alderman, Chancellor Walter Barnard Hill, of Georgia, and Chancellor James Hampton Kirkland, of Tennessee, who in their presidential offices have set an example of the higher and broader education for the entire South to emulate, and who have co-operated with the presidents of Southern universities to make exile from America no longer necessary for the highest and best education.

Robert C. Ogden, more than a merchant prince—a merchant commoner, who employed in using his wealth the same diligence which he employed in acquiring it; and by his combined tact and beneficence brought North and South together in a joint educational campaign equally beneficial to both sections and to both races.

To know these men and such as these has been an education, to be associated with them has been an inspiration, and to be counted by them as their friend is to be enrolled in America's legion of honor.

# COMMERCE AND FINANCE

A MONTHLY ARTICLE BY THEODORE H. PRICE

## THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE'S NATIONAL DEBT

### THE "FOURTH DIMENSION" OF CREDIT
### THE CONSEQUENCES TO AMERICA AND THE WORLD
### AN AUGURY OF INCREASED BUSINESS ACTIVITY FOR THE PRESENT

BY the use of simple arithmetic mathematicians can demonstrate with irrefragable logic that, in addition to length, breadth, and thickness, matter has a fourth dimension.

The straight line raised to the second power becomes a plane that we will call a square, of which we can conceive because we have seen many planes. The straight line raised to the third power becomes the cube, of which we can have a definite concept because we have seen many solids in the shape of cubes. But the straight line raised to the fourth power produces something which must have some other dimension than those which bound the cube, but of which we are unable to conceive, because as yet our perception has no consciousness of any boundaries of space other than length, breadth, and thickness.

It is thus possible for the mathematical philosopher to demonstrate the existence of a condition which we cannot realize because we have had no experience of it, for the visible world exists only in and for consciousness, and is but the " perception of the perceiver."

Thinking men, who, because they think, realize the limitations of their own intelligence, are commencing to feel that the expansion of the European debt incident to the war has proceeded so far that we are, so to speak, already in the fourth dimension of credit, and are dealing with factors of which we have no consciousness, although we can demonstrate their existence by the use of the wonderful Arabic numerals that have for so many centuries served to aid the imagination of Aryan civilization.

The merchant who has been in the habit of borrowing each year $100,000 is able to have some idea of what it might mean to borrow $1,000,000; the banker who has shared in the negotiation of a bond issue of $100,000,000 may possibly visualize the processes and immediate consequences of a flotation that involves a billion dollars; but the expansion of the European debt now in progress or in prospect seems likely to reach an aggregate that is utterly unthinkable both in amount and in its effect upon the individual, the community, or the world.

Germany has already placed one loan of $1,100,000,000, and announces that she will shortly borrow $1,250,000,000 more. Russia has just authorized an issue of $1,250,000,000, part of it a " lottery loan " that pays no interest but big " prizes " to some of the fortunate holders. The last French loan is $700,000,000, and an Austrian flotation of $600,000,000 is just completed. Great Britain has pledged her credit for $1,750,000,000. Belgium, Turkey, Greece, Italy, and the Balkan States have all been borrowers, each according to its ability and opportunity. Up to date, loans that aggregate at least $7,000,000,000 have been effected or authorized.

The ideas that these figures convey are, for most of us, pure abstractions. What does it all mean, and what will be the effect? No one can know with certainty, for we have no precedents upon which to base a judgment.

It seems evident that the obligations now being created represent for the most part the costs and destruction of the war, and that the governments are drawing upon the accumulations of the past to pay for the waste of the present.

If this be true, then it is inevitable that a long period of economy will succeed the war as society endeavors to reaccumulate the wealth necessary to pay the obligations now being created.

To the average mind wasteful extravagance and big bank balances are somewhat contradictory terms, and yet we are confronted with an enormous increase of deposits in the European banks and the lowest interest rates known for a long time. On the 5th of December the Bank of England had deposits of over $900,000,000, by far the largest on record, and the discount rate for ninety-day bills in London was 2¾ per cent.

The theory of waste and the facts seem paradoxical.

How is it possible for England to have the largest bank deposits on record when the war is costing five million dollars a day and the English debt is being enormously increased?

What seems to be a paradox will disappear only when we study it with a clear understanding of the principles and processes of credit as to-day applied in connection with the machinery of modern banks.

Before the days of loan and deposit banks a borrower received the veritable gold or silver for the proceeds of his loan, and the lending ability of the community as a whole was closely, though not exactly, limited by the amount of actual money in existence. To-day no such limitation exists except in so far as the law of the United States and the usage of other countries makes a retention of money reserve necessary against the deposit liabilities of the banks.

In Europe the exigencies of war have made it necessary in many cases to substitute a government guarantee or paper money for the specie reserve, so that gradually the structure of credit is coming to stand upon a foundation in the composition of which less and less gold is to be found. The patriotic willingness of the various European peoples to accept governmental guarantees and promises in lieu of gold is one of the phenomena of the present war which violates precedent and increases the difficulty of forecasting the consequences of the present credit expansion.

If this reliance upon the credit of the various governments continued indefinitely in spite of the reverses which some one nation must inevitably encounter, then the expansion of credit might also continue indefinitely. That it will ultimately be checked by a popular demand for gold, instead of promises to pay gold, seems inevitable; but he would be a rash philosopher who maintained that the unprecedented could not occur, and it is quite possible, but perhaps unthinkable to the present generation, that the inverted pyramid of government debt which is now rising in Europe may stand unshaken upon a base the stones of which, though measured by the yard-stick of gold, shall be in reality some other form of property more necessary to human existence and welfare.

Thoughts such as these cannot but impress us with the finiteness of our own comprehension in regard to the political and financial consequences of the conflict now in progress, and those who are thus brought to realize how limited our prescience really is are thereby forced to become opportunists in studying the facts as they seem to be. I use the word "seem" deliberately, for even the war itself and many of the things incidental to it rise to an immensity that transcends the power of our imagination.

The facts as they appear record an immediate increase of about seven billion dollars in the debt of the belligerent nations, and indicate a further increase of at least as much more before the war can be brought to an end.

This debt is being incurred to buy the food, armament, and ammunition that are required by the armies and navies of the belligerent powers. Payment for these things is, for the most part, being made by the transfer of credit from one account to another in the same bank, or from one bank to some other bank. As long as stability in the world's great banks is unshaken, most people prefer to be paid by the transfers of credit which we call "checks" rather than in cash.

Thus far the credit of the banks is unshaken. Even the German banks, whose isolation is greatest, have been able to maintain the fluidity of credit between Germany and neutral nations. That this has been possible indicates great progress in scientific banking, and, whatever our sympathies may be, we must admire the financial genius of the German banker as exemplified in the present crisis.

This fluidity of credit makes gold or money unnecessary as long as it is maintained.

That it may be maintained it is necessary that the people of the world who have been provident or fortunate and own the wealth that labor has accumulated in the past should express their confidence in the respective governments by exchanging this wealth for the interest-bearing promises of these various governments to return the money value of their wealth or property at some future time.

There is a general idea that Europe will "have to sell its American securities in order to finance the war."

This is a mistake which grows out of the idea that the expenses of the war will be paid in money or gold, instead of by the transfer of credit.

The same survival of archaic usage in current language leads us to describe the place in which loans are negotiated as the "money market" instead of the "credit market." There is not enough gold in the world to pay the expenses of the war, and, if it were possible to insist that payment should be so made, no intervention in behalf of peace would be necessary.

What is happening is that those who have or can establish bank credits on the basis of the property they own or can pledge are transferring those credits to the borrowing governments in exchange for the promises of those governments to retransfer the credits, plus interest, back at some future day.

The governments, in turn, transfer the credits to those from whom they buy the things that the armies and the navies require, and so the process will go on until some one of them finds that people will no longer take its promises in exchange for their property. Then that government, whichever it may be, will be forced to maintain itself upon the property it can commandeer or capture, and the war will be near an end.

It will perhaps be clearer that the payment of the war's expenses will not compel the sale of European investments in the securities of countries oversea if we take a concrete illustration.

Let us assume that an Englishman owning a million dollars in bonds of some American railway that pays five per cent desires from motives of patriotism or gain to lend his Government a like sum at four per cent, which is the basis upon which the great British loan has just been brought out.

He can, of course, sell his American bonds at a probable loss and reinvest the proceeds in the obligations of his Government; but this is quite unnecessary.

Two other courses are open to him:

1. He can hypothecate the bonds with some English bank against a loan or credit of, say, $800,000, upon which he would pay at present not over three per cent, and with the proceeds, plus $200,000 to be borrowed upon $300,000 of his Government's bonds to be acquired, he could pay for the $1,000,000 of the British debt that he desired to buy. Or,

2. He could, under the arrangement that the British Government has made with the Bank of England, borrow from that bank the entire cost of the British bonds acquired, at a rate of interest which is now four per cent, and which is guaranteed not to exceed the "bank rate" less one per cent for the next three years, during which time the loan may continue.

That self-interest will lead him to keep his American bonds is plain when we consider the financial results of each of the three lines of action possible.

(*a*) If he sold his American bonds on a five per cent basis and bought the English bonds on a four per cent basis, it is plain that he would be sacrificing an income of $50,000 a year for one of $40,000. He would hardly do that.

(*b*) If he borrowed $1,000,000 at three per cent on the combined security of $1,000,000 American bonds and $300,000 British Government securities, he would pay in interest annually $30,000. He would receive in income on $1,000,000 American bonds $50,000, and on $1,000,000 British securities $40,000, a total of $90,000. This would leave him a net income of $60,000 and the physical possession of $700,000 of the British securities. Or,

(*c*) If he borrowed from the Bank of England at four per cent the entire cost of the $1,000,000 Government securities purchased, he would pay in interest exactly the amount received from the Government, his income would be unaffected, he would retain possession of his American bonds and he would be able to profit by the advance in British securities which all Englishmen expect will occur when the war ends.

It is not hard to believe that under these circumstances our Englishman would choose to keep his American investments and help his Government also; and, as a matter of fact, this is what most foreign investors are doing. In so doing they are enormously increasing both the loans and deposits of the great European banks, and the banks are trying to increase their gold reserves against these deposit liabilities, assured, however, that if they fail to do so a government guarantee can be invoked that will preserve confidence until the present emergency has passed and the proceeds of increased taxation can be applied to the reduction of the national debts.

This lengthy explanation has been attempted in the hope that it may disabuse the American mind of the idea that Europe *must* sell its American investments, a fear which, more than anything else, restrains financial enterprise in the United States to-day.

The law of self-interest can be relied upon to keep Europeans from selling their American securities except as they may be compelled to part with them, in lieu of gold, to pay the people of the United States for the things that Europe may buy of us. These things we cannot sell except as we produce them; and as we produce them we can and should be glad to accept our own obligations in exchange for them.

As to the immediate or proximate effect upon the world's business of the enormous expansion of credit now in progress on the other side of the Atlantic, it may be said that the European nations are very much in the case of a man who, having spent all of his disengaged capital, proceeds to mortgage his homestead and squander the proceeds. His action may be uneconomic and unmoral, but for a time at least it greatly increases the profits of those among whom he spends the proceeds of the mortgage, and the resurgency of his expenditures will be felt in increased activity throughout a circumference that may be greater than at first seemed possible.

If our spendthrift friend should be a great money-earner and possess withal the self-restraint necessary, it might be that he could save and reaccumulate the sum necessary to discharge the mortgage, in which case it is not apparent that he or the world would be much the worse off for his financial debauch, and it is conceivable that his strength of character might be improved by the practice of economy.

This analogy reduced to terms of personal experience will enable us to understand why the enormous European borrowing now in progress is likely, for the present at least, to increase the profits and activities of business throughout the world even among the belligerent peoples themselves. Europe is spending the accumulations of the centuries, and in doing this must sooner or later give employment to all the industrial armies of the world; and some of them, whose ranks have been depleted to recruit the fighting armies, may indeed have to work a double shift.

This expenditure will give an impulse to activity that may last longer than we suppose, and create a supply of credit that will reduce interest rates and stimulate sound, and afterward unsound, investment to a degree that now seems impossible.

When the fall of Fort Sumter precipitated civil war in the United States, the first shock produced a panic, but within twelve months American expenditures for war commenced to accelerate the wheels of industry and commerce, and they continued to move with increasing speed until the panic of 1873 broke upon us eight years after Appomattox and ten years after Gettysburg. During that interval the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railways were built, the Atlantic cable became a commercial agency, and, despite the waste of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, American and European prosperity was followed by advancing prices for land, securities, and almost everything that humanity has use for.

In so far, therefore, as the opportunist may apply precedents to a situation which, in its immensity, is unprecedented, the conclusion must be that, for the next few years at least, commerce and industry are likely to be increased and values advanced rather than diminished by the velocity with which an expanded volume of credit will probably be transferred from one account to another in payment for the goods by the production and distribution of which the agricultural, industrial, and commercial forces of the world earn their livelihood and profit. Beyond a few years, which in this case may, and probably will, be at least a decade, no one may see even darkly; but in the hope that the Christmas season revives, despite the prevailing gloom to-day, we may at least feel safe in assuming that in the future as in the past man will be preserved against complete self-destruction and emerge from the present murderous and financial debauch still possessed of a self-restraint and ambition that will enable him to pay his debts and again struggle up the hill of difficulty toward the summit of constructive achievement.

# BY THE WAY

"The omission of the architect's name in connection with reference to notable buildings is not infrequent," says a correspondent in inquiring for the name of the designer of the Beecher Memorial Buildings, recently described in The Outlook. "Is the creative imagination of the cultured architect of a lesser order of merit than that of sculptor, painter, author, or composer?" Surely not, though his art is usually more dependent than theirs upon the co-operation of others. Mr. Woodruff Leeming is the architect to whom credit for the handsome new additions to Plymouth Church was inadvertently omitted.

An architect, of course, as a rule, shares the credit for the construction of a fine building with the owner thereof, who usually has many ideas of his own as to plans; sometimes these may be to the advantage of the architect, sometimes they are a hindrance to him. It may be worth noting that in a recent competition for a prize offered for the most notable country house erected in 1913 $1,000 was given to the owner and only $500 to the architect of the successful house. Many, doubtless, would feel that this was inverting the order of merit.

A stirring experience was that of a British sailing vessel, the Medway, which escaped from a German steamer off Cape Horn not long ago. The wind was blowing half a gale when the Medway was signaled to stop, but her captain crowded on every stitch of canvas, topsails and all, and the good ship roared through the sea, in cataracts of foam, till nightfall enabled her to escape. The Medway, says the despatch, made at least sixteen knots an hour through the storm.

Under the heading "Timely Tips" about new fashions a New York newspaper prints this paragraph: "The little hats, to be worn correctly, should droop low over one eye." The effect, it is to be feared, will make fair faces resemble that of the man with a green "eye-patch" which suggests a black eye beneath.

That repository of odd announcements, the "Personal" column of the London "Times," has seldom seen a more unusual request than this in a recent issue:

> Request from Sailors and Soldiers at the Front to send large Consignments of FLINT and TINDER LIGHTERS, matches, when procurable, being unreliable in wet weather. Money to help purchase direct from makers solicited. Address Haden Cranford, Esq., Marlow, Bucks.

Of pathetic interest is the following from the same column:

> Refined Belgian Lady, whose means have given out, asks for HOSPITALITY in refined family. Would gladly accept room and breakfast. Highest references. Address, etc.

Investigators of the high cost of living might do well to learn the methods of the Southern Industrial Institute, a philanthropic school for boys at Camp Hill, Alabama. An editorial in the school's paper says: "One dollar will keep a student in this school for nearly four days. It will provide him with a room, heated and lighted, and with three substantial meals a day for four days." And the paper contains letters from boys who seem to like their fare!

The 475 wooden cars in use on the New York City subway have been condemned by the Public Service Commission as dangerous in case of fire, and they are to be replaced by steel cars.

Dogberry's exclamation, "Oh that he were here to write me down an ass!" was probably not in the mind of a correspondent who wrote to the New York "Times" recently that Bernard Shaw was an "intellectual asset." But Dogberry's friend was in the "Times" composing-room, and "intellectual asset" got into print as "intellectual ass." Was this the same compositor who changed "the masses of the people" into "them asses of the people"?

In the 1913–14 egg-laying contests in Connecticut, which are under the charge of Professor William F. Kirkpatrick, 820 hens laid 117,901 eggs, an average of nearly 144 eggs for each bird; the best individual record was 265 eggs for the year; one group of ten hens laid 2,088 eggs, or nearly 209 eggs for each hen; and 60 hens of the 820 laid more than 200 eggs apiece. Each fowl consumed, on an average, 90 pounds of feed and produced 32 pounds of eggs. Here is a record for emulation by poultry-raisers everywhere.

The burning of the great plant of Thomas A. Edison, at West Orange, New Jersey, caused general regret, somewhat mitigated by the announcement that the inventor's private laboratories were saved. Among the world's great inventors Mr. Edison is quite exceptional as having carried on successfully a great manufacturing business while developing his numerous inventions. Any interference with his experimental work would have been a public loss; it is gratifying to learn that the fire will not have this result; perhaps it will, indeed, direct his genius toward new methods of preventing such catastrophes.

A writer in "Rider and Driver" predicts a great increase in the sale of automobiles to farmers. He makes the assertion that already nearly fifty per cent of the automobiles now in use are owned by farmers, though only one farmer in ten as yet owns a car. There are over six million farms in the country, and the field for utility machines for farmers is thus almost unlimited.

The record-holder, so far, for wounds received and recovered from in the European war is probably a French soldier who received forty-one mitrailleuse bullets in his leg. He is said to have recovered and to have gone to the front to face the guns again.